



The Art of Embattailing A N A R M Y.

O R,
THE SECOND PART OF
ÆLIANS TACTICKS.

Containing the Practice of the best *Generals* of all
Antiquitie, concerning the formes of *Battailes*.

Wherein all Motions requisite to be vsed in a Battaile
both for offence and defence are fully expressed.

Necessary and vsfull for all Martiall Spirits, that
desire to haue knowledge in the Art Military.

Englisht and Illustrated with Figures and Obseruations
vpon euery CHAPTER.

By *Captaine* IOHN BINGHAM.



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TO THE RIGHT VVOR-
SHIPFULL SIR HVGH HAMERSLY,
Knight, one of the Aldermen and Coronels of the
Honorable City of LONDON, and President of the
Martiall Company, Exercising Armes in the Artillery
Garden in LONDON.

TO CAPTAINE HENRY VVALLER,
NOW CAPTAINE OF THE
SAID COMPANY.

AND

TO ALL THE REST OF THE
Worthy Captaines and Gentlemen of the
said Company.

Captaine I. B. wilheth such valour and experience,
as may make them victorious against all
sorts of Enemies.

Worthy Gentlemen:



*Hese my last endeouours upon Ælian, I
purposed to haue kept to mine owne pri-
uate use, and not to haue presented
them to the view of the world. But now
being to depart from you, and to iourney
into a farre Countrey, and finding your
kindnesse and loue toward me such, as I was not with any
reason to expect, I altered my minde, and hauing nothing
else*

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else to offer unto you, I resolved to make this a monument of my thankfulness to you, and a testimony of my desire to doe you the best service I am able. For my paines herein, I leaue them to the iudgement of any learned Reader; for the profit of the Treatise, I say no more but this, it containeth the practise of the best Generals of all antiquity concerning the formes of Battailles. And whereas many bold opinion, that it sorteth not with the vse of our times, they must giue me leaue to be of another mind: Indeed our actions in Warre are onely now a dayes and sieges oppugnations of Cities; Battailles wee heare not of, saue onely of a few in France, and that of Newport in the Low-Countries. But this manner will not last alwayes, nor is there any Conquest to be made without Battailles. He that is Master of the field, may dispose of his affaires as he listeth; hee may spoyle the Enemies Countrey at his pleasure, he may march where he thinketh best, he may lay siege to what Towne he is disposed, he may raise any siege that the Enemy hath layed against him or his. Neither can any man be Master of the field without Battaille, in ordering whereof, that Generall that is most skilfull, seldome misseth of winning the day: experience of former times cleares this. I should exceede the compasse of an Epistle if I brought the examples, which serue to this purpose. Now for the skill of ordering Battailles, it is not to be learned out of the practise of our dayes, wherein when we come into the field, we make shewes, and musters rather, then obserue any formes of Battailles for vse: Battailles must not be alwayes of one figure. The wise Generals of ancienter times, fashioned their battailles according to the range, which they saw the Enemy had before taken vp. The place often maketh an altera-

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alteration in that forme, which otherwise would serue to our purpose. He that is acquainted but with one forme, if he be forced to change that upon the sudden, disordereth his troopes, and bringeth all into a confusion. The knowledge of the formes of battailles being then so necessary for a Generall, this little Pamphlet must needs be welcome to them that desire the manning of fields, and the command of Armes. For here haue you all formes expressed, together with their vse; so that the Generall that is acquainted with the practise of these precepts, shall not be to seeke to make transmutation of his battaille, into what forme soeuer necessity shall require, & that upon the sudden. As for them that hold, that great Ordnance will not admit any of these ancient formes in our dayes, I hold that for a dreame, and not worthy the answering; since the inuention of great Ordnance, we neuer read of any forme of battaille disordered thereby; some slaughter hath beene made by great Ordnance, and the Army that suffered by great Ordnance, hath beene forced the sooner to ioyne with the Enemy; when the Armies are ioyned, great Ordnance hath and must sit still, and looke about as an idle Spectator, seruing for no other vse, then for a pray to him that gaineth the field. Now for small shot, it succeedeth in the place of the light-armed of antiquity. By them a Battaille may be broken, if they be not repressed, and themselves cut off in time. But what is said of them, that may not be said of Bowes and Arrows? The greatest fields that we gained against the French, were gained onely by our Archery. To say nothing of other Nations, that had the skill of shooting: so that no reason can be alleadged why the formes of Battailles used by antiquity for aduantage, may not be as well used in our dayes.

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dayes. Howsoever the matter standeth, my desire is, that the Treatise may with your fauourable acceptance beare your names in the Front thereof. Not because I thinke it worthy of your Patronage, but for that I would haue it appeare to the world, how much I esteeme of your kindnesse (as I said) and of your loue, which you expressed toward me in my taking leaue of the City. The Lord of hostes haue you in his keeping.

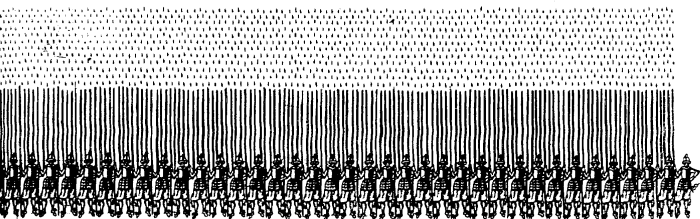
Your seruant, as heretofore,

to doe you seruice.

IOHN BINGHAM.

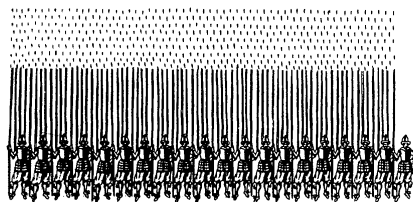
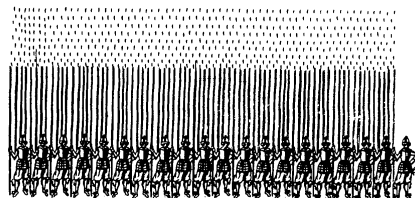
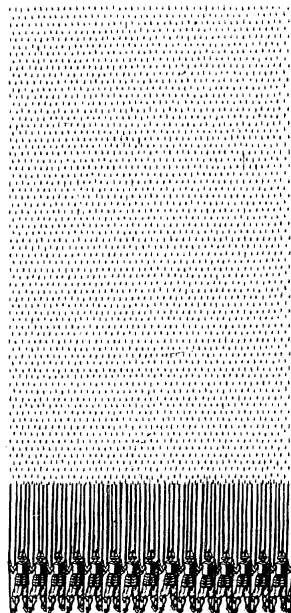
*Plagiophalanx or the Brode-Fronted
Phalange*

Cap. 30.



*Loxe-Phalanx or the uneven fronted
Phalange*

Orthiophalanx or the Home




The Front



THE TACTICKS OF *ÆLIAN*, OR THE ART OF EMBATTAL- LING ARMIES.

*The broad-fronted Phalange, the deepe Phalange, or Herse, and
the vneuen-fronted Phalange.*

CHAP. XXX.

(1)  *Lagiophalange*, or the broad-fronted *Phalange*, is that, which hath the (2) length manifoldly exceeding the depth.

(3) *Orbiophalange*, or the deepe *Phalange* (now commonly called the *Horſe*) is that, which proceedeth by a (4) winge, hauing the depth much exceeding the length. In generall speech euery thing is called (5) *Paramches*, which hath the length more then the depth; and that which hath the depth more then the length

(6) *Orthion*: and ſo likewise a *Phalange*.

The *Phalange* (7) *Loxe*, or vneuen-fronted, that is, which putteth forth one of the wings (which is thought fitteſt) towards the Enemy, and with it begins the fight, holding off the other in a conuenient diſtance, till opportunity be to aduance.

NOTES.

THis Chapter and the next, ſeeme not to hold their right place: for being ſet before the manner how to wheele, and likewise before cloſings, and inſerted betwixt the motions of the ^a *Phalange* (to which ^a *Bataille* motions, or to one of them, the manner of *wheeling* and *cloſings* appertaine) they interrupt the method or orderly handling of the ſaid motions; which method *Ælian* curiouſly obſerueth through his whole Booke. Beſides, *Ælian* himſelfe, after a manner pointeth out the true place of them, in that in the 24 Chapter, rehearſing ſhortly the appellations or words of Military diſcipline; he placeth theſe formes after Induction and Deduction: I take it therefore, that their proper place is after the 37 Chapter, the rather, becauſe all the formes of Marches from thenceforth handled, are either *Squares* of the one kinde or other, or elſe ſpring out of theſe *Squares*. I ^b noted be- ^b *Cop. 18.* fore

The Tadiks of Ælian, or

fore, that there are three kinds of Squares; one, that hath a longer front then flanke; another, that hath a longer flanke, then front; the third, that hath the front and flanke equall. Of the third *Alian* speaketh in the 42 Chapter, of the first and second in this Chapter: of these two therefore I will treat in order. And first I will handle the *Alans*; then the *Ps*; lastly the *Manner* how to transforme one into another.

The first is called

1. *Plagiophalanx, or the broad-fronted Phalange.*) The word *παις* is often interpreted for *oblique*; which signification it cannot haue heere; the oblique Phalange being in this Chapter termed by the name of *αδρ*, and yet distinguished from the *Plagiophalanx*. They that translate *Plagiophalanx*, the tranſuerſe or ouer-thwart fronted Phalange, agree better with *Αδrians* meaning, because it meeteth the enemy with a front tranſuerſe, and drawne out in length, and directly opposite againſt him. I haue rendred it the broad fronted Phalange, as more fitting the English tongue: It may also be called the long-fronted Phalange. For breadth (I haue remembered it before) and length of a Phalange are all one: In this ſenſe is the word *παις* vsed by *Arrian*, being applied to the manner of bearing of a Pike. He telleth, that *Alexander* tranſported his Army ouer the riuer *Ister*, to inuade the territory of the *Getae*; and hath thus, *The number of thoſe that paſſed the riuer with Alexander, were about 1500 horſe, and 4000 foot. They paſſed in the night, and landed where the Corne was high, which was the cauſe that their arriuall was not deſerued. As ſoon as the morning appeared, Alexander led them through the Corne fields: Commanding the foot, that bearing downe the Corne with their Pikes bel a thwart, παις ταν αδρως, they ſhould march into the Champaigne.* The manner of their bearing of Pikes (as I interpret it) was this; They tooke the Pikes in the midſt with both their hands, and bo bore them out, not with the points forward, but croſſe and paralell the front of the Phalange, that the file leaders with one ioynt force might ledge and beare downe the high-growne Corne, and make eaſier paſſage for thoſe that followed. If they had carried them out ſlope, or oblique (which is the other ſignification of the word) it had bene no more, then the particular force of euery man a part, that held his Pike ſloping; beſides that, they would haue bene intangled in the Corne; whereas the bearing of them croſſe paralll with the front, was the ioynt force of ſo many file-leaders, as did thruſt forward againſt the Corne. Therefore as when the Pike is borne in full length croſſe the front of the battaile, the poſture of the Pike is ſaid to be *παις*, ſo is a Phalange termed *παις*, that hath a front ſtreched out in euen length, and oppoſed againſt the euen front of the aduerſe battaile of the enemy.

2. The length manifoldly exceeding the depth.] *Alian* sets not down expressly any proportion of the excess of the length above the depth, only he saith, it must manifoldly exceed the depth : We must take it then, that the excess of the length must be at the least threefold ; for *thrice* fails into the appellation of manifold. A *Macedonian* fourfold *Phalange* may justly challenge this name, being 1024 men in length, only 16 in depth. And likewise a *Phalangarch* led feuerally and by it selfe, as hauing 256 men in length, but 16 in depth. The rest of the bodies of the fourfold *Phalange*, till you come downe to a *Pentecostarchy*, albeit ranged by themselfes, are likewise *Plagiophalanges*, or broad-fronted battalies. A *Pentecostarchy* hath only twice

twice so many in front, as in flanke (as 32 in front, 16 in flanke) and therefore cometh not vnder the name of a broad-fronted Phalange. So that, let the battaile be as long as you list, hauing but the ordinary depth, it still is accounted a *Plagiophalange*. When it is but twice so long in front as in flanke, it cannot deserue that name, but it is to be termed rather a Square of ground, becaufe the flanke in a square of ground taketh vp as much ground as the front. To the *Battaile-broad-fronted*, is next added the *Phalange*, called

3. *Orthiophalange*, or Herfe] which albeit it haue the length and depth vnequall, as hath the *Plagiophalange*, or broad-fronted Phalange, yet must the depth manifoldly exceede the length, which is contrary in the *Plagiophalange*. This faith *Eliau* proceedeth in

4. *A wing*.) To proceede in a *Wing* is to march on with a parcell or one body of the Army, namely with a certaine number of files (as with a *Tetrarchy*, *Taxis*, Or *Synagma*) and to follow with the rest in like manner, so That which is called by *Alian Orthiophalanx*, is called by *Diodorus Siculus*, and by *Arrian*, *Babina phalanx*, a deepe phalanx, because the forme of it ariseth out of the depth of the embattailing, as I haue noted vpon the seuenth Chapter. This kinde of march the Greeke writers expresse by the words of *leading* *in taxis* and *in phalanx*, that is, in a *wing*; whereas the other kinde with a large front (I meane the broad-fronted Phalanx) is said to be led *in front*, and *in phalanx*, and *in phalanx*, in a Phalanx, and *in phalanx*, in front, *in phalanx* in *phalanx*, in extension of breadth. The words I recite to helpe them, who although they be skilfull in the Greeke tongue, yet are not so well acquainted with the Tacticks, and may easily mistake, or not vnderstand the signification, if they be not forewarned. But because I haue before in my notes vpon the seuenth Chapter touched this matter, I will here vfe an example, or two, only to expaine, and to giue light to both formes. *Arrian* reporteth, that when *Alexander* was to passe the riuer *Granicus*, on the further side whereof the *perrians* had embattailed themselves in a broad-fronted phalanx to hinder his passage, *Parmenio* one of his eldest and best Commanders came vnto him, and gaue him this counsell; *Sir*, said hee, *Consider the Persians are ready to encounter you on the other side; my opinion is, you cannot gaine the passage without exceeding danger: both because your phalanx cannot be led in front* (that is, in a broad front) *by reason of the many and sundry depths that are to be seene in the River, and of the height and steepenesse of the banks, as also for that the enemies horse ordered in a phalanx, will be ready to charge vs, whilst we disorderly and wingwise (which is the weakest kinde of fight) endeavour to scamble vp the banks.* Thus *Arrian* vsing the words before recited, and noting the difference of both the formes. *Leo* hath the like passage, instructing his Generall how in the night to surprize an Enemy in his lodging. His words are these in effect; *When you march, saith he, to the intent that no tumult or confusion of noise be heard, nor the stretching out of your battaile into a great length breede error and inequality in marching; and hereupon cries and loud commands arise, so that the Enemy may easily perceiue the access of your Army: It becometh you to march not in front, that is, in a large extension of breadth, but wingwise, that is to say, in a deepe forme of Embattailing; as if one file should follow in the reare of another, observing skill to maintaine the depth, or thicknesse of the battaile.* His meaning is: That in the night an Army ought

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not to be led in a broad-fronted Phalange (because the places are wayes through which you are to march, are sometimes large, sometimes straight, sometimes rough, sometimes plaine, and so you cannot preferre an even front, but must change the forme and disorder it) but in a *Hersi* or *deepe Phalange*, which will fit all passages, and in the greatest inequality of way maintaine the forme of the battaile entire. And so much of the signification of the words marching in a *Wing* and marching in a *Phalange*.

5. Every thing is called *Paramakes*. It is to be observed, that there is a difference betweene *Paramakes* and *Heteromakes*: I thought good to note it, because *Ælian* in diuers places mentioneth both. *Paramakes* is the figure, according to *Ælian*, where in the length many times exceeds the depth; it may be *Heteromakes*, albeit it be but twice as long as deepe. I am not ignorant that *Ænclide* nameth all foure sided figures, that haue right angles, and vnequall sides, *Heteromakes*. But *Ælian*, though hee apply *Heteromakes* sometimes to the *front*, sometimes to the *flanke*, yet he giues no more then a double proportion either of *front* to *flanke*, or *flanke* to *front*.

6. *Orithion*. Albeit the word *Orithion* properly signifie things rising in a *height*, yet in military discourse it is applied to the dimension of the *depth* of a battell, and not of the *length*. Here a Phalange is termed *Orithion*, and in *Leo* in the place last by me cited, mention is made of *med-ritidion*, a deep battailing: and in *Xenophon* *ὀρθίον*, a Company stretched out in depth, as in *Polyæn* also, and *Arrian*, and *Appian*. *Polyæn* hath besides, *ὀρθίον*, and *ὀρθίον*, for an army, that is cast into a great depth, and into a narrow front. Therefore, as *Paramakes* signifieth the length of the front; so *Orithion* signifieth the depth of the flanke of any battell ordered, as is aforesaid. Thus much of the nature of the two battels: It remains to shew the Use of them, and how one may be transformed into the other.

The *Plagiophalange*, or broad-fronted battell bringeth most hands to fight with conveniency, and therefore is accounted the better forme; and, as neere as opportunity of ground would giue leaue, the ancient Generals principally affected, and sought to put this forme in v're: It hath the commodity to *ouersfront* the aduerser battell, and is safe it selfe from *ouersfronting*, vnlesse the Enemy bring a greater multitude then you haue to ouer-match your Army. The *Macedonian Phalange* was for the most part of this forme, as all the fields *Alexander* fought evidently declare; So ordered he his troopes at *Granicus*, so at *Issos*, so at *Gangamelos*, so in other places, if the ground would serue. This Caution notwithstanding was observed, that the depth held proportion with the length; otherwise the length profiteth not so much, as the thinnesse of the depth hurts, by giuing meanes to the enemy to breake through, and put the aduerser battell in a rout. I haue noted it before out of *Leo*.

The *Hersi*, or *deepe Phalange*, was thought the weakest kinde to fight in. *Parmentio*, one of the chiefe Commanders *Alexander* had, disruined it (as I haue shewed a little before). *Cyrus* the elder, in the embattailing of the *Egyptians*, derided it; yet cannot the forme of the broad-fronted Phalange be so exactly taken vp, but that necessity will sometime force the other. In straight places it hath bene often vsed: So *Darius* in the battaile of *Issos*, by reason of the straightnesse of ground, was forced to this forme: So *Bomilcar* the *Carthaginian*, was faine in a straight place to make a narrow front of his

phalange, and to extend it in depth. And *Atilius Glabrio* the Roman Con-¹ full, in the streights of *Thermopylae* against *Antiochus*: and *P. Scipio* in *Spain* against the *Ihergers*. Therefore in large grounds the first forme is to be cho-² ten, in narrow and rough places the other. The *Hersi* is also fit for Marches, because in a March you are assured to meet with variety of ground; some-³ times with woods, sometimes with bushes, sometimes with straight wayes, with riuers, with hills, with pits, with bridges, with ditches, and such like impediments, so that the front of your broad-fronted phalange must needs be dissolved; whereas no difficulty of wayes can hinder the passage of a *Hersi*,⁴ the front whereof may be narrowed (according to the ground you march in) as you list. *Alexander* being to lead his Army against the *Thracians*, that had planted themselves in the mount *Enus*, was faine to narrow the front of his phalange, according to the way that led vp to the Mount: The same did *Agessilaus* passing through the streights of *Manina*; the history is of *me* recited before in my notes vpon the 26 Chapter. *Panimentos* likewise led-⁵ ding his Army through *Phocis* toward *Chebes*, and finding that the Enemy had taken and possessed a place called *Pontionetion*, that had two streights leading to-⁶ ward it, one of which the Enemy held with a guard, casting his troopes into a *Hersi*, *ἐπὶ τῆς αἰτίας βαβύνας*, striking the bulke of his Army slender, and fit to march, *σπῆδ' αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τὴν δεξιὰν*, as though he ment to hold on to that passage. The Enemy therefore leauing the left hand straight, which they had in guard, ran with all speed to the right hand to stop his passage; but hee taking the opportunity, speed-⁷ ed hastily to the left, and conveyed his Army thorough without danger. Many like examples of *Herses* accommodated to straight wayes, where a broad-fronted Phalange cannot march, are to be found in Histories. The *Orithio-* phalange or *Hersi* was also much used in an ascent against a hill which the enemy possessed: and in this fence are *ὀρθίον* deepe Companies taken in the Greeke writers, especially when a whole Company is put into a file, and 3 or 4 or more files laid together to make an *Orithion* *langon*, in which were they vsed to mount vp against hills. Many examples be in their Histories of beating off Enemies from hills in this forme. *Cyrus* the elder vsed it against the *Chaldeans*; *Xenophon* against the *Carducians*; *Cerberis* against the *Carducians* from *Armenia*: the *Grecians* against the *Mozneccans*, that inhabited cer-⁸ taine Mountains which the *Grecians* were to mount. *Ptolomey* against the *Indians*, that embattelled themselves vpon a mountaine to resist the inuasion of *Alexander*. And a notable example of an Army ascending against a Mountaine, is described by *Xenophon*, in the fourth booke of the ascent of *Cyrus*; Here I relate that the *Chalcians* had taken vpon a high Mountaine, and there imbattelled their Army to the intent to stop the passage of the *Grecians* in their returne out of *Peris*: The *Grecians* at the first ordered themselves into a Phalange, (a broad fronted battell) meaning in that forme to make their way. But afterwards the Chief-taines calling a Court, aduised vpon their best course of fighting: *Xenophon*'s opinion was, that laying aside the forme of a Phalange, it would be best to order themselves in Companies *ἀνὰ πλάτος* out in file. For a Phalange, said he, will soon be broken, by reason of the inequality of the way, which in some parts of the Mountaine will be found easie enough, in other hard to ascend. And the soldiers will quickly be discouraged to see the Phalange disordered, in which they march: Besides, marching in a large front,

the enemies, that exceede vs in number, will ouer-front vs, and vse their multitude to most advantage: In a narrow front it will be no maruaile to see our Phalange cut asunder with misseue weapons, and with men ordered in battaile to charge vs; whereby the whole Phalange will be distressed. Therefore, as I said, I hold it best to put the Armie into Companies stretched out in depth, giving to each Company such distance one from another, that our wings may ouer-reach the vttermost points of the enemies battaile: and let every company make choice of their fittest way for ascent: As for the spaces betwixt company and company, it shall not be easie for the enemy to conuey himselfe into them, all the companies on all sides (in case he enter) wrapping him in betwixt them: and if it chance that any company be distressed, the next company is to succour and aide it. Now say, that one company attaine to the top of the hill, you may be assured, that no enemy will keepe his ground. This Counsell was assented to by all; When therefore euery man had taken his place, and the companies were laid out in their iust depth, the armed amounted to about 80 companies, in euery of which were reckoned almost 100 men: The Targeteers and Archers were diuided into three bodies, the first to march without the armed of the left wing, the second without the armed of the right, the third in the midst, euery body consisting of well-nigh 600 men. After prayers made to the gods, the souldiers advanced, singing the ^a Pean; Then Cherilophus and Xenophon (leading the point of the Grecian battaile) and the Targeteers with them, who ouer-reached the enemies wings, haisted on a pace, and the enemy perceiving it, extended their wings to meet them, and by that means were distracted some to the right, some to the left hand, leaving an empty space in the midst of their Phalange. the Targeteers armed after the Arcadian manner, led by Eschines the Acharnan, seeing the enemies battaile disordered, and imagining them to flye, ranne forth with all speed, and were the first that gained the hill: they were seconded by the armed Arcadians, commanded by Cleanor the Orchomenian. When the Enemy saw them come running on, they forsooke their ground, and began to shift for themselves, one one way, another another: The Grecians hauing gained the Hill, encamped there. Hitherto Xenophon, out of whose practice the best adresses against an enemy, that possesseth a Hill, ouer which our Army is to march, may be learned: In a broad-fronted Phalange it is hard to proceede, both because of the inequality of the ground, which will easily breake the phalange, and disioynt all the parts thereof, and also for that the enemies weapons throwne from the higher ground will not lightly misse so great a body, and great stones, and other masse, tumbled downe, will beare downe and make ruine of whatsoeuer commeth in the way, impossible to misse in such an extension of length, and thronging of the Army: to lead in one and a continued Herse is no lesse dangerous. A few men, and those onely in front, shall come to fight against a multitude of enemies, who will ouer-front and charge them on all sides. Xenophons Counsell then is to make diuers bodies, and to order them so seuered in front and flanke, that they may ouer-front the enemy, and not be parted asunder with the vneuenesse of the ascent, nor yet proue too faire a marke for the enemies weapons. The Bodies are declared to be Companies each of 100 men; these so diuided one from another in distance flowise, that the vttermost bodies on both sides might be able to ouer-reach the points of the enemies wings, and to make choice of the best Ascent toward the height of the hill. Further, the forme of ordering the bodies is set downe, They were stretched out in depth (^b *ἐπίπλοισι*): Orthios lochos is here taken for a Company ordered in one file; and it signifies as much

^a *ἡμῶν δόρυς*
ἐπίπλοισι *ἐκαστῶν*
8000 armed.

1800 light-armed.

^c A song or hymne to Apollo viced by the Grecians when they ioyned with the Enemy. *Ἰού Πολ.* l. 1. c. 1. 5. 33. But the Scholiastes of Thucydides saith, there were two Peans, one to Mars before victory, the other to Apollo after victory. l. 1.

as ^a *ἡμῶν δόρυς*, a Company ordered one man singly after another: which phrase is vsed by Xenophon elsewhere: and in the same sence ^c Thucydides vseth the phrase ^b *ἡμῶν δόρυς*, of placing ships one in a direct line after another *ἐπὶ πλοῖον πλοῖον*, which his Scholiastes interpreteth *πλοῖον ἐπὶ πλοῖον*, hauing one after another. And ^d Polybius likewise of Ships hath the same phrase, *ἐπὶ πλοῖον πλοῖον*, to be placed one after another; and in the same place *ἐπὶ πλοῖον*. Yet this passage out of Xenophon, where he mencioneth *ἐπίπλοισι*, hath a diuers signification from the common vsage of *ἐπίπλοισι* amongst other Grecians. It agreeeth, in that, they led their Companies stretched out in file; it differeth, in that Xenophons files were placed in distance one from another, and had all an equall front in the manner of a ^e *Plagio-phalange*, where in the other examples they were ioyned; to the end to make an *Orthiophalange*, and in seuerall bodies to follow one another. I deny not that *ἐπίπλοισι* are otherwise taken in the wars of the Romans described by the Grecians.

So ^f Scipio ordering his battell against Hanniball in the fight of Africa, is reported by Appian to haue disposed his Army into *Maniples*, distributed into three kinde of bodies, the *Maniples* to stand *ἐπίπλοισι*, one directly after another. How they stood ^g Polybius shewes, describing the same battaile; He saith, that Scipio ordered the *Hastati* and their ensignes first of all the rest, and in front, and gave intervals to their *maniples*; behinde them the *Principes*, not against the intervals of the *Hastati*, as the Roman manner was, but behinde them in a right line (because of the multitude of the Enemies Elephants:) and lastly, the *Triarii*. On the wing of the left flanke he ranged ^h C. Lelius with the Italian Horse vnder him: on the right Massaniila, and all the Numidian Horse, which he commanded. The intervals of the first Ensignes (that is, of the *Hastati*) he filled with the bodies of light armed, commanding them first to undertake the fight; and in case they were not able to withstand the assault of the enemy, or of the Elephants, he willed them to retire; some, that could preuent the rest with speed, through the direct intervals of the *maniples* to the reare of the army; other, that were in a manner surprised, to the flanks, were the Ensignes. This ordering of *Maniples* one directly after another, so termed and described by Polybius, Appian calleth *ἐπίπλοισι*, which notwithstanding, if truly examined, cannot according to the Grecian practise come within the compass of that name. For the Grecians, as I said, drew their Companies seuerally each into a file; and laying foure, or five, or six, or more of them together, made a body, the depth whereof much exceeded the length, or breadth, the front being of 4, 5, or 6 men in ranke, the depth of 100, whereas the Romans, as appeareth by Polybius, kept their ordinary manner of embattelling, sauing that they placed their *principes* not against the intervals of the *Hastati*, as their custome was, but directly behinde the *Maniples* of the *Hastati*, to the end the Elephants of the Carthaginians might haue an empty and void lane, as it were, to passe through their whole Army: As for the Roman *Maniples* they consisted of two parts ioyned together, which they called ⁱ *Ordines*, and euery *Ordo* contained 60 men, commanded by a Capitaine; so that the *Maniple* had in it 120 men, and two Capitaines or Centurions. These 120 men being digested into files, containing 10 men a peece (for that was the length of file, as the depth of the *Maniple*) make 12 files, which stood one by another ranged in front, not stretched one after another in depth. But because the *Maniples* of the *Hastati* *principes*, and the *Triarii*, stood directly one after another, therefore Appian called them

^e A broad-fronted Battaille.

^f Appian in *Afric.* c. 21.

^g Polyb. l. 5. c. 40. 1. 1.

^h *Ordi.*

The Tactics of Aelian, or

them *ἐκ τῆς ἀρχῆς*, either out of the ignorance of the manner of embattelling amongst the Romans, or else because the Grecians in their writings reduced the order of the Roman embattelling vnto their owne vsage. So they called a Tribune of the Roman Army a *Chiliarch*, albeit a *Chiliarch* amongst the Grecians and a Tribune amongst the Romans differ very much, as I haue noted vpon the ninth Chapter of *Aelian*: the manner of embattailing of the Army of *Acilius Glabrio* a Roman Confull in the streights of Thermopyle, cometh neerer vnto the Greekish forme: *Appian* describeth it thus; *Antiochus* having fortified the streights of Thermopyle with a double wall, and drawne forth his army orderly for fight, to make good the place against *Acilius*; *Acilius* diuided his troopes into three parts, and giuing one part to *Cato*, another to *Placcus*, the one to make his passage on the one side of the hills, the other on the other, himself led the ordinary way against *Antiochus*, and framing of his owne part *ὁμοειδὲς* (which manner of embattelling alone, saith *Appian*, fructs for streight waies) he pulled on and forced his Enemy to retire, gained his Campe. The *ὁμοειδὲς* here mentioned, are no other then the *Orthiophalange*, which *Aelian* hath set downe in this Chapter, namely, hauing one *Maniple* (or if the streight permitted not a *Maniple* of 12 files to march entirely in front) one *Ordo* consisting of six files to aduance, the rest following in the same kinde, as the fashion is of the right *ὁμοειδὲς*, remembered by *Aelian* hereafter in his 3^d Chapter. Now albeit that forme cometh neerer to the Gracian forme, yet it is not the same, the one filling the way with the *Maniple* or *Ordo*, as it fell out, in the same figure, that it stands in the field, the other changing the order of the field, drawing the Company out into one file, and ioyning other Companies with it in front, as many as the way would receiue: So that the Grecian had 100 in depth of the body, the Roman but 10. We are not to pretermitt, that albeit *Acilius* vsed this forme to dislodge *Antiochus* from the *Hills*, yet he trusted not to it alone, but diuiding his Army into three parts, he caused two of them to march vpon the hills on both sides, himselfe in the midst, to the end that one part might raise the height ouer *Antiochus* head, and so make him forsake his ground. Thus farre of the vse of these two kinde of *Plalanges* or battailes: it remaineth to shew, how one of them may be transformed into another.

Transformation of one into another.

Doubling of files.

See *Aelian* 7^o.

The next proceeding Chapter teacheth, that out of doublings of Ranks, the length of the battell ariseth, as the depth out of doubling of files, I haue shewed the manner of both in my notes vpon the 8 and 10 Chapter. And this manner is easie in a single Company, or in a small Army: In great Bodies it hath no great vse, let the Example be of a *Phalangarchy*, which is the fourth part of a fourfold *Phalange*, and containeth 156 files. Double the files once you shall 128 files, and 32 men in depth, and but 3 foot distance in ranke. The second doubling bringeth forth 64 files, and as many men in depth, but the distance betwixt ranke and ranke is but a foot and a halfe. Beyond this doubling you cannot proceede; for beside the confusion of places of officers, which are in number about 120 in a *Phalangarchy*, the intervals betwixt man and man, will not conveniently allow about two doublings: your open order betwixt man and man, wherein they stand at first, giueth but six foot: The first doubling takes away three foot from euery internall, the second leaueth but a foot and halfe. And considering that when the battell is closed for fight, the neere distance betwixt ranke and ranke ought to be no lesse then three foot,

in

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in regard of handling of weapons (as I haue shewed before out of *Polybius*.)

The second doubling, albeit it yeeldeth room for the bodies of Souldiers to stand in, yet it takes away the halfe of this distance, but the third doubling allowing but 3 quarters of a foot for each man to stand in, giueth not so much ground as his body will possesse. So is it likewise of Ranks, which will not suffer about two doublings fit for vse. *Aelians* file is of 16 men, double your ranks once, your file will containe no more then eight men, and euery man shall haue three foot distance from other in ranke, double them twice, the file hath but foure men, and euery mans distance in ranke is no more then a foot and halfe, which as it is allowable in close order, so admitteth it no third doubling, wherein the space betwixt man and man cannot exceed three quarters of a foot. As therefore the second doubling of ranks in a *Phalangarchy*, albeit it extend the front of the battell, leaueth yet too small a depth to the *Plagiophalanx* or broad-fronted battaile, it containing no more then foure men in depth: For the doubling of files fifteth not the *Orthiophalange* or Herfe, as hauing 64 in depth, and as many in length, which number neither holdeth proportion of the depth manifold to the length of the *Orthiophalange* or Herfe, nor yet by reason of the length hath conueniency to apply it selfe to streight waies, a thing that containeth the principall vse of that manner of battaile; which was the cause that antiquity vsed another course.

If the march were to be made out of a *Plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile, they framed a *Herfe*, by putting forth out of the right or left wing, first one *Tetrarchy*, or other body, which might march whole according to the largeness of the way; and after it followed from the same wing, the rest of the Army in the same kinde. If contrariwise a *Plagiophalange* or broad-fronted battaile were to be framed out of an *Orthiophalange* or a *Herfe*, they caused the body which had the vaunt, to stand firme, and the rest following to fleuee vpon by it on the right or left hand, till they all came to an even front: *Xenophon* sheweth the manner in a Company, whose words are these in English; Then he (*Cyrus* the elder) beche'd another Captaine leading his Company from the river side to dinner, one souldier following another in a single file, who when hee thought fit, commanded the second, third, and fourth file to fleuee vp, and make an even front with the first; the file-leaders being new in front, hee commanded the halfe files to double the front, so that now the Decadarches or leaders of halfe files stood in front. Again when it seemed good, he commanded the quarter files to double the front: so the *Decadarches* or leaders of the quarter of files led vp, and the files marched on, being diuided into foure parts. When they were come vnto the Tent doore, hee commanded the first file to single out againe, and to enter in, and the second to follow it single in the reare, and so the third and fourth, till all were within the Tent. To cleare these words of *Xenophon*, It is to be vnderstood, that the Company or *ταξὶς* here mentioned, consisted of 100 men, and was diuided into foure files or *ἑξῆς*, each file containing twenty foure men. The file had five Officers, the file leader, the *Decadarch*, two *Pempe-darches*, and the bringer vp. At the head of the file stood the file-leader, and behinde him directly foue men; next after them stood the first *Pempe-darch* and foue men that followed him: in the midst of the file (that is, after the *Pempe-darch* and his five) was placed the *Decadarch* (who led the hinder part halfe file, and after him foue men more). Lastly the second *Pempe-darch* and foue more after him, the last of which was the bringer vp. Now when *Xenophon* saith, that the whole Company followed by one or file wife, he meant that the foure files were cast into one file, and followed one another.

In my notes vp. on the 11 chapt.

A body of foure files.

Xenophon Cyrep.

1.2.55.A.

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The Tacticks of Aelian, or

nerals as a forme of advantage in fight. The first onely to win a passage, as I take it, ouer a riuer, or such like (where the broad-fronted Phalange could not passe) and to bring the Armie to a ground, where it might be ordered in better forme for fight. I will giue one Example (for I read not many) of the first; ^a Alexander hauing conuicted his armie ouer Hellepont, and entred into Phrygia, came as farre as the riuer Granicus. Three Lieutenants of Darius with 20000. Horse, and well nigh as many foot, had embattelled themselves on the other side of the riuer to hinder his passage: The riuer was full of depths and shallowes some what dangerous to enter, and the banks on the further side high, rough, and steep; besides, the Enemy was ready with horse cast into a long or broad-fronted phalange, and with seconds of foot to beat him backe, that should offer to clymbe the banks. Alexander being resolved to passe ouer, first ordered his troopes in a broad-fronted phalange: The right wing he commanded himselfe, and gaue the command of the left to Parmenio; then putting the Scout-horse with the Paonians into the riuer, and after them a Phalangie by of foot led by Amyntas the sonne of Arrabius, and then Ptolomy the sonne of Phillip, who commanded the troope of Socrates, which troope had the Paut of all the horse that day, himselfe with the right wing entred the riuer (the Trumpets sounding, and the Army giuing a shout) extending still his battell bus-wise against the Stream (αὐτὴν ὡς ὁ ποταμὸς) to the end the Persians might not fall upon him, as he led in a wing, but himselfe, as much as was possible, might come to ioyne with them, hauing the front of his phalange extended in length. The Persians cast ^b Darts from the high ground against the troopes of Amyntas and of Socrates, as they approached to the further banke, and some of them, where the ground was more euen, descended to the brinke of the riuer; so there was thrusting and sholdering of Horsemen, some to ascend out of the riuer, some to hinder the ascent. The Persians let flye many a dart, the Macedonians fought with speares: The first Macedonians that came to hands with the Persians, were cut a peeces fighting valiantly, saue only those that retired vnto Alexander, who was now nere advanced with the right wing: He himselfe first of all charged the Persians, where the principal strength of the whole body of their horse and the Generals of the field stood; about him was a strong fight, and in the meane time one troope after another passed easily ouer the riuer. This passage of the History is long, and therefore I forbear to recite the rest, onely I adde, that after a long fight the Persians were forced to flye, and the victory remained with Alexander. And this, that I haue recited, may serue to shew the vse of this kinde of Loxe-phalange, which was practised by Alexander to no other end, then to gaine the passage of the riuer; for in this forme hee would neuer haue fought, nor is there any preident for it out of his battels ranged vpon euen ground, where he might haue chosen the forme he liked best; but here he was to get ouer a riuer, the enemy held the banks on the other side with 20000. Horse ordered in a broad phalange; the riuer was full of shallowes and depths, and thereby hardly passable; the banks on the other side steepe and broken, and hard to ascend: Parmenio dissuaded him to lead in a wing or herse, and himselfe had no great fancie to aduenture in that forme. In a broad-fronted phalange he could not, which must needs haue bene broken by the vnequall footing in the bottome of the riuer? What did hee then? hee thought best to choose a passable foord, and through it to put ouer the right wing of his Army slope-wise toward the further banke, whither when they came, they should proceed against the streame; that the front being still extended, and the rest comming vp and ioyning, he might front toward and charge

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charge the Enemy phalange-wise. And that this was his meaning is plaine by ^a Polyen, who rehearsing the same Stratagem, saith, that Alexander led his Army in that forme along the further banke to the end to ouer-front the Enemies Horse-battaile: So that this kinde of Loxe or vneuen-fronted Phalange is no forme to fight in, as I conceiue, but hath bene sometimes taken vp, as a meanes to attaine to a ground fit for a better forme; as Alexander changed it as soone as he came to the banks of the riuer on the other side.

The other (as I said) great Generals haue vsed, and by it haue gained great victories. I will adde an example or two, whereby the vse of it may more clearly appeare: Epaminondas the Theban in a field against the Lacedemonians, gained a famous victory by this forme: ^b Diadorus Siculus writeth thus, The Bæotians also being ready to fight, the battailes on both sides were fashioned in this order: Amongst the Lacedemonians the Chiefestaines of the race of Hercules had the wings (viz. Cleombrotus the King, and Archidamus who was the sonne of Ageilaus, the other King.) On the Bæotian side Epaminondas vsing a peculiar and choice kinde of embattailing, obtained a renowned victory by his martiall skill: For, selecting the best men out of all his troopes, he opposed them against one of the Enemies wings, himselfe resolving in his owne person to try the fortune of the day with them. Against the other wing he set the weakest, commanding them to fight retreating, and to giue ground by little and little, when the Enemy came on to charge; framing therefore an vneuen-fronted Phalange, he determined to hazard the fight with that wing, which consisted of his chosen Soldiers: The Trumpets sounded, and the Armies gaue a shout, and the Lacedemonians figuring a halfe Moore thrust ouer both their wings of purpose to enuiron the Bæotians, who with one of their wings reured, with the other ran forth to ioyne with the Enemy: after ioyning, the Victorie hung a good while doubtfull thorough the valour of both parties, notwithstanding Epaminondas by the manhood of his people, and the thicknesse of his battaile hauing the better, many of the Lacedemonians fell; for they were not able to endure the weight of the resolution of those chosen men, yet so long as Cleombrotus lived, and had many to ioyne Targets for his defence, and ready to dye before him, the issue of victory was uncerteine: But after he had cast himselfe into all kinde of dangers, and yet could not force the Enemy to retire, fighting heroically he was borne to ground with many wounds, and sended his daies: There arose a flocking and concourse about his body, and multitudes of dead men were heaped one vpon another. That wing, being now without a Commander, was hardly laid to by Epaminondas and first with plaine force somewhat disordered. The Lacedemonians on the other side, brauely hazarding for their King, recouered his dead body, but could not attaine to the victory: as also the selected band, albeit prouoked by the vertue and exhortation of Epaminondas, it vsed extraordinary valour, yet with much adoe did it force the battaile of the Lacedemonians, who first giuing backe, somewhat disordered themselves; as last many falling, and no man being to command them, the whole armie tooke it selfe to flight. Epaminondas his soldiers followed the chase, slew many, made themselves Masters of the field, and carried away a natable and famous victory. Their honour was the more, because they fought with the most valiant men of all the Grecians, and overcame them being many more in number then themselves; contrary to all mens expectation; but of all other Epaminondas was the man that merited most praise, who by his owne valour and martiall skill, won a battaile against those Generals of Greece, which to that day were held invincible. This Testimony of the Loxe-phalange is somewhat long, but the worthinesse of the circumstances will, I hope, beare me

^a Polyen l. 5. 16.

^b Diad. Sic. l. 15. 486. C.

The Lacedemonians had by law two Kings at once.

^c The Bæotians were to deprecate the Lacedemonians to. Xenoph. lib. 1. c. 106. C.

me out to recite it, wherein the forme agreeable to Ælian is first to be noted, as advancing one wing against the Enemy, and holding off the other; albeit it goes a little further then Ælian prescribeth, in that the wing kept off, stood not still, waiting time to come forward, but when the Enemy came vp, toynded with him, giuing ground, of purpose to distract his phalange, and on that side to busie him with a slow fight, left happily he might giue vpon the aduerse flanke of Epaminondas, and succour his owne partie that already was in fight. It sheweth besides, the aduantage of Military skill; for the Lacedemonians, Masters of Armes at that day in Greece, hauing fashioned a halfe Moone, and imagining in that forme to inclose the small number of the Bæotians, and to charge them on every side, Epaminondas with his Loxe Phalange so plyed the front of their wings, that the rest of the halfe Moone, being neuer able to strike stroake, became vnprofitable: It shewes further what kinde of battaile is fittest to encounter the halfe moone: Lastly, it hath the reason and vie of the Loxe phalange; that is, to charge one of the Enemies wings with the best and strongest part of our forces, and at the same instant to annoy him with the other wing, thereby to embarre him from giuing aide to his people that were in fight. ² Alexander vsed this forme at Gangamela, beginning the fight and victory with his right wing, and after with his victorious troopes succouring his left wing, that was in danger to be routed by the Persians. The like forme with the like successe was vsed by ³ Antigonus against Eumenes; it is a battaile worth the rehearsing, but I haue beene long in the Example of Epaminondas, and therefore referre the Reader to the quotation. ¹ Demetrius framed the like battaile against Ptolomy and Seleucus, albeit he were frustrated of his hopes in the euent by the foresight of Ptolomy, who opposed his choicest troopes against that wing of Demetrius, which was first to undertake the charge. Hitherto of these three formes of Phalanges, see the figures, in which albeit the two first be portraited without intervals, yet you must in the broad-fronted Phalange vnderstand the three intervals vsuall in the Macedonian fourefold Phalange: and in the herse the spaces betwixt the reare of the bodies that lead, and of the front of those that follow.

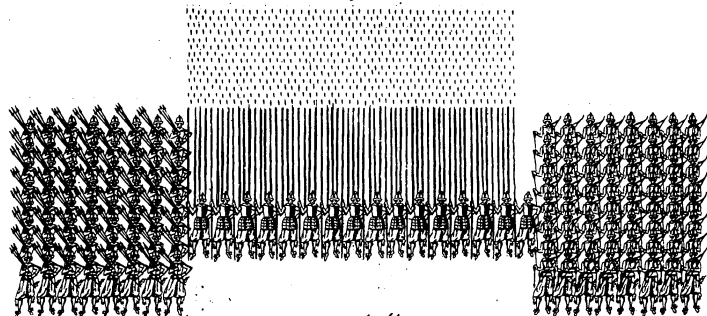
² Died. l. 17. 192. E³ Died. l. 19. 686.¹ Died Sic. l. 19. 716.

Parembolè, Protaxis, Epitaxis, Prothesis, Entaxis,
and Hypotaxis.

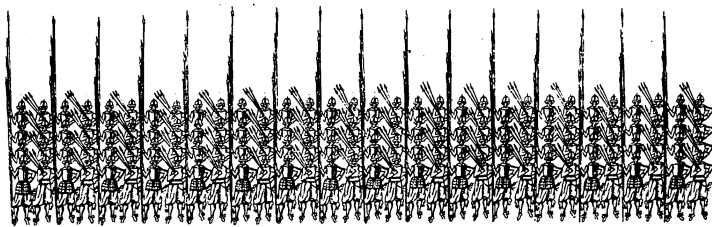
C H A P. XXXI.

(1) **Parembolè**, or *insetion*, is, when Souldiers being placed in a body, we take some of the hindmost, and order them within the distances of the first, drawing them vp in an equall front. (2) **Protaxis**, or *forefronting*, is, when we place the light-armed before the front of the Armed, and make them forefronters, as the file-leaders are: (3) When we order the light armed behind, it is called **Epitaxis**, as it were an after-placing. (4) **Prothesis**, or *adjoining*, is, when to both flankes of the battell, or to one flanke, some of the hindmost are added, the front of them which are added lying even with the front of the battell. This addition is called **Prothesis**. (5) **Entaxis** or *insetion*, is, when it seemeth good to set the light Armed within the spaces of the Phalange, man to man. (6) **Hypotaxis** or *double-winging*, is, when a man bestoweth the light armed on the wings of the phalange, so that the whole figure resembleth a threefold gate or doore.

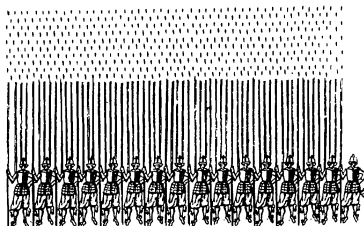
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Hypotaxis, or double-winging



Entaxis, or insetion



Protaxis, or forefronting

NOTES.

THIS Chapter sheweth the enlarging of a *Phalange* or battell, by diuers placings partly of the armed, partly of the light-armed. It is not hard to be vnderstood; the rather because most of the alterations here mentioned are spoken of heretofore either in *Ælian*, or in my notes: Sixe formes are here set downe, two by changing the place of some of the Armed, the other foure by changing the place of the light-armed, the armed are altered by ^b *Parembolè* or ^c *Prostaxis*, the light armed by ^d *Protaxis*, ^e *Epitaxis*, ^f *Entaxis*, and ^g *Hypotaxis*; what the signification of each is shall be shewed in the notes following.

^b Doubling the front by middle men.

^c Adioyning.

^d Forefronting.

^e Placing after.

^f Placing be-

^g sweene.

^h Placing on the wings,

1. *Parembolè*.] This must alwayes be of armed, which are taken from the reare of the Armed, and inserted betwixt the files of the front: of this kinde is the doubling of the front by middle men with their halfe files, whereof *Ælian* hath spoken in the 29 Chapter, see the figure there.

2. *Protaxis* or *fore-fronting*.] I haue shewed before in the notes vpon the seuenth Chapter, that the light-armed were diuersly placed in the front, in the reare, on the wings, within the battell; when they are placed before, it is called *Protaxis*, see the figure here: ^h *Ptolomie* and *Seleucus* being to fight against *Demetrius*, who had many Elephants, placed the light armed before, to the intent to wound the Elephants and turne them away from their *Phalange*: so *Alexander*, so *Darius*, at the battaile of *Issus*, placed *darters* and *slingers* before the fronts of their *phalange*: they serue greatly to annoy the Enemy being so placed, especially being not charged with *horse* or *pikes*; if they be charged with either, they are to retire into the interuals of their owne battaile of pikes: See *Onofander* cited by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke.

3. *Epitaxis*.] Ordering of the light-armed behinde was the vsuall manner of the *Macedonian* Embattelling, from whence they drew them at pleasure to any place of seruice: see the 7 Chapter.

4. *Prostaxis*] it is, when armed are taken from behinde and laid to one or both flankes of the battell fronting euen with the front thereof, which is a doubling of rankes, as is before shewed, done when the hinder halfe files diuide themselves, march out and front with the fileleaders, or else march out entirely without diuision.

Entaxis] Incision is alwayes of the light armed into the spaces of the armed. It is all one with *parentaxis*, another Greeke word vied in the same fence.

6. *Hypotaxis*.] Placing of the light armed on the wings was much ysed in ancient time, as the manner is also at this day: but *Ælian* would haue them so placed, that the eminency of them should make a hollow front in the battaile: *Parritius* taketh *Hypotaxis* to be the placing of the light armed in the reare, which seemeth to be a mistaking, both because the placing of them in the reare is in this Chapter called *Epitaxis*, and also because there being foure manners of ordering the light-armed, one in the front, another in the reare, the third within the body of the *Phalange* man to man, the fourth in the wings: if this ordering should be vnderstood to be behinde the *Phalange*, there would be two kinds of placing of the light armed in the reare, and none

The Tactics of Ælian, or

of ordering them in the *flanks*: Besides, when Ælian saith, they are placed *in the wings*, vnder the *wings* of the battell, he sufficiently expresseth himselfe, the *flanks* of the battaile on both sides being the vntermost parts of the *wings*.

The Use, and aduantage of these exercises of Armes.

CHAP. XXXIV.

THese precepts of *turning* about of faces, of *wheeling*, and *double wheeling* of the battaile, and of reducing it to the first posture, are of great vse in (1) sodaine approaches of the Enemy, whether he shew himselfe on the right or left hand, or in the reare of our march. The like may be said of *Counter-marches*, of which the *Macedonians* are held to be the inventers of the *Macedonian*, the *Lacedemonians* of the *Lacedemonian*, from whom the Appellations are accordingly drawne. The Histories witness, that *Phillip* (who much enlarged the *Macedonian* Kingdome, and ouer-came the *Grecians* in a battaile at *Cheronea*, and made himselfe Generall of *Greece*) and likewise his Sonne *Alexander*, who in short time conquered all *Asia*, made small account of the *Macedonian counter-march*, vnlesse necessity forced it; and that by vse of the *Lacedemonian*, they both became victorious ouer their enemies. For the *Macedonian counter-march*, the Enemy falling vpon the reare, is cause of great disorder, in as much as the hindermost marching vp to the front, and making shew of running away, it more encourageth and emboldeneth the Enemy to fall on, for feare and pursuit of the Enemy is ordinarily incident to this *Counter-march*: but the *Lacedemonian counter-march* is of contrary effect; for when the Enemy shewes himselfe in the reare, the *file-leaders* with their followers brauely aduancing, and opposing themselves, it striketh no small feare and terror into their mindes.

NOTES.

ALL the foure motions of a battaile; Facing, Counter-marching, Doubling, and Wheeling, are before handled: In this Chapter Ælian briefly rehearseth the vse of them, especially in

1. Sodaine approaches of the Enemy.] If the Enemy come sodainely vpon vs, he must direct himselfe either against our *front*, or our *reare*, or our *flanks*. If ^a against our *front*, we neede no other motion then that whereby we may strengthen our front, which is usually done by *doubling of ranks*; we march for the most part in a *herse*, in which forme there cannot come many hands to fight: and that is the reason why it is accounted the *weakest* forme to ioyne with the Enemy. ^b *Doubling of ranks* helpeth that defect, and bringeth as many hands to fight, as the proportion of forces will allow: If against the ^c *reare*, and time streight you not, and your battell be in *open order*, you haue the vse of ^d *counter-march*, which bringeth the best hands to fight; for the *File-leaders* are esteemed the flower of the Army: your battaile being in *order* or *close order*, you are to ^e *wheel* it about to your right or left hand,

^a Against the front.

^b Doubling of ranks.

^c Against the reare.

^d Counter-march.

^e Wheeling.

Cap. 32.

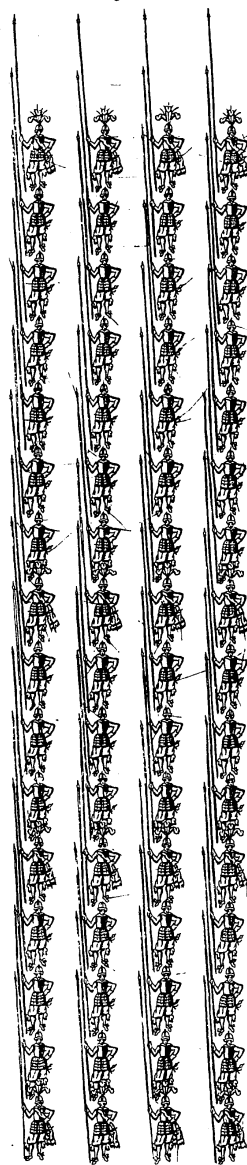
The action of wheeling



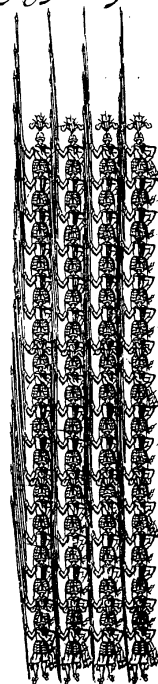
Cap. 32.
The manner of wheeling

The first posture

Closing of files



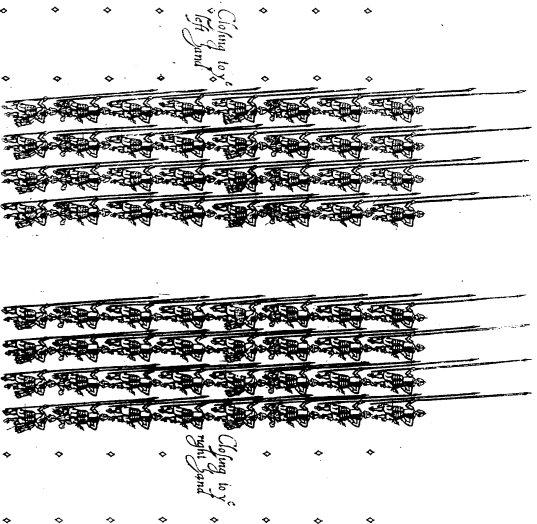
Closing of ranks forward



The Front

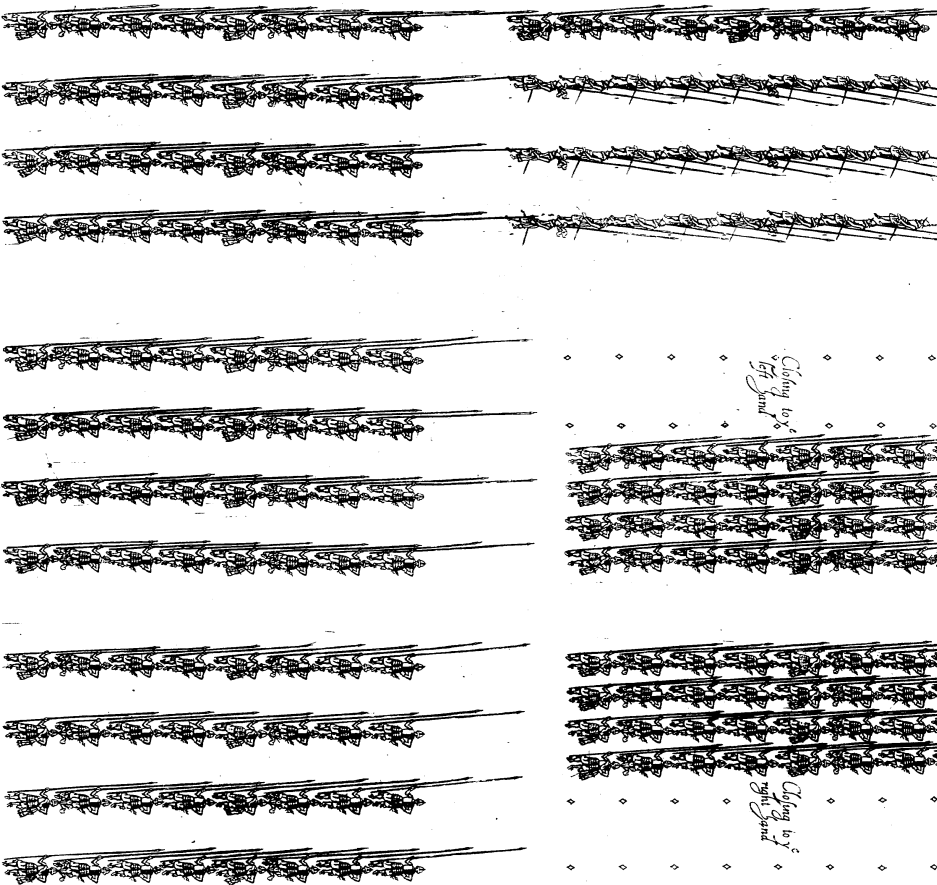
Cap 22
O'Clungar

Closing to the middle



The front after closing

*5° Right
 1° action*



The front before closing

The front of 1° before closing

hand, and so to oppose the front against the Enemy. But in both these motions the caution of *Ælian* is, that the Enemy surprize you not whilest you are in the action of *countermarch* or *wheeling*, lest taking his advantage, hee charge you being in disorder. Therefore if he come so neere, that you haue no liberty to *countermarch* or *wheele*, your onely refuge is to *face about* to the right or left hand, for so he shall not be able to giue vpon your backe: If the enemy appeare vpon any *flanke*, *countermarch* of the Front will not auaille, much lesse doubling against the flanke of ranks, or files, but you must either *wheele* your Front to the flanke, or if you haue not time enough so to doe, you are to *face* your battell to that hand: The vse of these motions hath been handled in their seuerall Chapters more at large.

Of the Signes of Direction which are to be giuen to the Army, and of their seuerall kindes.

CHAP. XXXV.



(1) **V**E are to acquaint our Forces both Foot and Horse, perfectly with the (2) *voice*, and perfectly with (3) *visible signes*, that whatsoeuer is fitting, may be executed and done, as occasion shall require. (4) Some things also are to be denounced by the *Trumpet*: for so all directions will be fully accomplished, and sort to a desired effect. (5) The signes therefore which are delivered by *voice*, are most euident and cleere, if they haue no impediment. (6) But the most certaine and least tumultuous signes are such as are presented to the eye: if they be not obscured. The *voice* sometime cannot bee heard by reason of the clashing of Armour, or trampling or neying of Horses, or tumult of carriage, or noise and confused sound of the multitude. The *visible signes* also become many waies vncertaine, by thicknesse of ayre, by dust, by raine, or snow, or sunshine, or else through ground that is vneuen or full of trees, or of turnings. And sometimes it will not be easie to find out *signes* for all vses, occasions, effeetnesses presenting new matter, to which a man is not accustomed: yet can it not so fall out, that either by *voice*, or by *signall*, we should not giue sure and certaine direction.

NOTES.

THe ordinary motions in a Phalange are all represented by *Ælian*. Now commeth hee to speake of Signes, which direct, and are meanes of effecting all these motions, and without which the Army is no Army, but remains a body vngouernable, and may aptly be resembled to a Shippe that hath no rudder: For as a Ship in a tempest is driuen by all windes, tossed by waues, throwne euery way vpon rockes, vpon sands, vpon dangerous shoares, that is not guided by the Master, who standeth and moueth at the helme; So an Army not directed by *signes*, and forecast of the General, is carried away through ignorance and violence of affection, sometimes of anger, sometimes of feare, sometimes of reuenge, and other vnbridled desires, and breaketh or else fal-

feth into confusion through disorder, working little against the enemy, may rather giuing him meanes of a certaine victory. The shippe is like the Army, the Generall like the Master, the words of Direction like the Rudder, guiding all and euery motion of the Army: For the Army being a body of many heads, whereof euery one hath a feuerall sense, hangeth together not by the naturall coherence and knitting of one member to another, but by artificiall ioyning of man to man, file to file, body to body, whereby it is gathered together into one Masse, and figured into many members and ioynts, and ruled not by the reason and iudgement of it selfe, but by the reason and vnderstanding of the Generall. So that no man is to demand why this or that is commanded, but is to execute it alone for this Cause, because it is commanded: The Generall then being to Command, and direct the actions of the whole Army, ought to finde out meanes to speake and discourse with them all at once, in such a language, as it were, that all may vnderstand at once. For the occurrence of warre being oftentimes sudden, and once slipt by, irreuerable, require sudden meanes of speedy direction, that nothing fall out so vnlooked for, but the Army may haue notice how to preuent and auoid, or else to turne it to their most advantage; the rather because in warre, safety and life come in question, in losse of which, no pardon of negligence can be admitted. And seeing there are two principall fences of aduertisement, the eare the one, the other the eye; the eare to heare all manner of sounds, the eye to discerne all manner of colours and shapes, it hath been the witty inuentions of antient Generals, to informe their Armies by the one, and by the other: by the eye when there was no vse of the eare; by the eare when the eye could not be informed: The true obseruation and vse of these signes auail much in warre. ^aVegetius saith, that nothing profiteth more to victory, then to obey the aduonition of signes. Former experience hath taught, that the neglect or error of signes, hath brought in great inconueniences, and quite ouerthrowne the enterprises in hand. ^bPolybius remembreth it in Aratus the elder, a Generall of the Achæans, Cratus, saith hee, the Generall of the Achæans, seeking to get the Cynethian City by a plot, agreed with those of his party within the Citie, upon a certain time to come by night to the riuer that runneth by Cynethic, there refreshing and staying his Army a while, and that those within taking their time, should send about mid-day out of the gate secretly one of their companions, to stand in a cloake by a hill appointed, which was not farre from the Citie, to giue aduertisement to Aratus to march on, and that the rest about that time should lay hands upon the Polemarches, (that used to guard the gates) while they reposed themselves and slept: And that this done, the Achæans should with all speed hasten to the gates, out of their ambush. These things concluded, and the time approaching, Aratus came accordingly, and hiding himselfe by the riuer, awaited the signall: About the fifth houre, one of the Citie an owner of sheepe, that bore extraordinary fine wooll, & were vsually feeding about the Citie, came out of the Citie gate in a cloake, desirous to speake with the shepheard about some private businesse of his owne, and standing upon the same hill, looked round about for the sheepheard. Aratus and his folke imagining this to be the expected signall, ran in all haste toward the Citie; but because nothing was ready within, the gates were quickly shut, and not onely Aratus missed of his purpose, but the Citizens also that conspired with him, fell into great misfortunes, being taken with the manner, and presently brought forth and put to death. This may be an example of error and misprision of the signe. Of the neglect, and likewise of the like error and misprision, there is a notable example

^a Veget. l. 3. c. 5.

^b Polyb. l. 9. 555. B.

example in ^aCæsar's Commentaries in the siege of Alexia, Where Cæsar hauing ^aCæsar de bell. Gall. l. 7. 156. won the Enemies campe, lying upon a hill neere the Towne, founded a retreat to his army that was in fight: the Ensignes of the tenth legion made a stand, but the Souldiers of the other legions not hearing the sound of the trumpet, by reason of a valley, beyond which they were; were yet held backe by the Tribunes and Legats, as Cæsar had giuen direction. Notwithstanding, being puffed up with the hope of a speedy victory, and with the sight of the Enemy, and their happy battailes of former times, thinking nothing so hard that it might not be achieved by their valour, they made no end of their chace, till they came neere to the Wall, and Gates of the Towne; and some of them cutting at a gate, other some clyimbing vp the wall, imagined they had gotten possession of the towne. In the meane time the Enemies forces, who were busie in fortifying without on the other side of the towne, being acquainted herewith by message, sent their horse before, and followed after themselves, and in great numbers charged the Romans: The fight was hard, the enemy trusting to the advantage of the place and to their number, the Romans to their valour, when on the sudden were seene on the open side of the Romans the Heduan Horse who serued in Cæsar's Armie, and were by him sent on the right hand to get up the hill another way: they by likeness of their armour put Cæsar's souldiers in a great feare. And although it might easily be discerned, that their left shoulder was unarmed, which was the signe of such as were friends, yet the Romans conceiued them to be enemies, and to vse that deuice onely to ouer-reach and entrap them. Being oppressed on all hands, and 46^b Centurions slaine, ^bThree were 60 Centurions in a Roman Legion. they were beaten from their ground with the losse of few lesse then 700 men. Cæsar's Souldiers here offended in both kindes in the neglect of their Generals Command, which he gaue by signe, and in mistaking the signe, which was vsuall for the Heduan to be knowne by. Cæsar's iudgement of these two faults appeareth in his speech, which he made to his Army presently vpon the losse; in which he reprehended their rashnesse, in that they would needs take upon them to iudge how farre they were to proceede, and neither be held in with the signe of retreat that was giuen, nor yet be commanded by the Tribunes and Legates. He shewed of what force the disadvantage of ground was, and what his opinion was before this time at Auaricum, where surprising the Enemy without a Generall and Horse, he let an assured victory slip out of his hand, because he would not hazard, no not a small losse in fight vpon inequality of ground. As much as he admired their braue mindes and resolution, whom neither the fortifications of the Enemies Campe, nor the height of the Mountaine, nor the wall of the Towne could hold backe; so much hee reprehended their presumption and arrogancy, in that about the victory and issue of things, they preferred their owne conceits before the opinion of their Generall: For his part hee required swiftness modesty and continence in a Souldier, as valour and magnanimity.

So Cæsar insinuating that obedience and heedfulness were two principall vertues in a Souldier; by the one to be ready at all commands, by the other to execute with discretion what was commanded: by want of heedfulness they perceived not the signe of retreat which was proposed vnto them, and mistooke the marke of the Heduan, whom they esteemed for their foes; by want of obedience to their Officers, they incurred the danger and losse which they sustained: diligent care therefore is to be had of signes, by which the minde of the Generall in all directions is declared, and as it were set before the eyes of the whole Army.

The Inuentors of the Signes of warre were many. The Ensigne was inuened by the Egyptians, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 9 chap. of this Booke,

* *Plin natural.*
lib. 7. c. 17.

Booke, where also the reason of the inuention is giuen. ^aThe order of an Army, the giuing of the *signe*, the *watch*, the *watchword* was inuented by *Palamedes*, the *trumper* by *Tirrheneus* the Sonne of *Hercules*.

b *Onofander c. 19.*
 c *Strabo lib. 14. c. 17.*

To giue *signes* to an Armie pertaineth, as I haue shewed, to him that is the *Gouernour* thereof, that is, to the *Generall*. The manner how *signes* were by him giuen, appeareth in ^b*Onofander*, I will recite his words : Let all *signes*, quoth he, (he meaning by voyce) and by *signes* be deliuered to the Officers of the Armie; in as much as for a *Generall* to goe vp and downe and proclaim the *signe* is all, is the part of an *vnwise* and *unexperienced* Man, and both time is lost in denouncing it, and it is often a cause of tumult, whilst every man asketh what the *signe* is. Besides, one addeth something to the *Generals* words, another diminisheth them. ^dLeo hath almost the same wordes, at least the same fence, and as I take it, hee borroweth them from *Onofander*. ^e*Onofander* addeth, It behooueth him to giue the word to his highest Commanders, who are to deliuer it ouer to the next to themselves, and they to their next inferior Officers, till it come to the last; for so shall every one speedily, decently, and quietly know what is commanded. And this was the manner of the *Grecians*, as may appeare by *Thucydides*, who describing the vsage of the *Lacedemonians* in giuing the word and *signes*, of direction, hath thus, And presently the *Lacedemonians* ordered themselves in battaile, Agis the King commanding, as their law is; for when the King leadeth, all things are vnder his command, and hee giueth direction to the *Polemarches*, they to the *Lochagi*, who deliuer it to the *Pentecosters*, and they to the *Enomotarches*, from whom the *Souldiers* of the *Enomoties* haue it.

Polemarches.
Lochagi.
Pentecosters.
Enomotarches.
Xenoph. Cyrop. l. 8.
 203. B.

^f *Polyb. l. 6. 479.*
^g *Lipsum ad Polyb.*
^h *l. 5. dial. 9.*
ⁱ *Veg. l. 3. c. 5.*

This was then the manner of the *Grecians*. How the *Romans* did deliuer out their word you may finde in the sixth Booke of ^f*Polybius*. But because it pertaineth not to *Ælian*, who intreateth of the *Græcian* discipline alone, I remit the Reader to my marginall quotation. The *signe* was then deliuered from the superior Officers to the inferior, and from them to the *Souldier*: the kinds of *signes* that were deliuered are reckoned vp in this Chapter, being in number two; for they were presented either to the eare or to the eye, to the eare, as all sounds, whether mans voice or trumpets, or other instruments of warre, which were presented for direction or motion of the Army. To the eye, as all mute *signes* (so they are called which haue no sound) which were set vp to the view of the *Souldier* for direction likewise: Both of these kinds were either ordinary or extraordinary; ordinary, which had daily vse in the Army, as the *Trumpet*, *Bsignes*, and such like, as serued for ordinary direction. Extraordinary, which were brought in as occasion was offered of new command: besides, some were deliuered openly, as the vocall, semivocall and mute *signes*, which by proclamation, sound of instruments, or representation were set forth to the whole army at once; some priuily, as the word, and such like, which passed secretly from one to another, and were received priuately in the eare. This variety was inuented, that in case one kinde failed, or would not serue, another might, as I haue noted before out of *Suidas* vpon the ninth Chapter, and as *Ælian* teacheth in this Chapter.

^j *Vocalia.*
^k *Semivocalia.*
^l *Muta.*

The ends of *signes* are two, one to order and direct our owne forces, the other to distinguish them from the Enemy.

Because I haue before spoken of the diuersity of *vocall* and *mute* *signes*, it shall not be amisse here to shew the vse of them both by examples.

^m *Signe Vocalia.*

And

And this is first to be noted, that the *Græcians* in gouerning their troopes, as much as they could, retained the vse of the voice. In publike directions they vsed the voice of the *Crier*; I haue before noted it vpon the 9 Chapt. If the command required secrecy, the *Generall* gaue it to his chiefe Commanders secretly by word: Of this kinde was the *signe* deliuered to discourse enemy from his owne souldiers in a battaile to be fought. ^a*Xenophon* writeth, that at such time as *Cyrus* the younger and *Artaxerxes* were to ioyne battaile, *Cyrus* sitting on horse-backe a prettie distance from the *Grecian* troopes, heard a murmuring noise running along through their whole battaile, and asking *Xenophon* (who was then present with him) what noise it might be, and what it meant, *Xenophon* told him, that the Word was now giuen the second time: Hee wondering who had revealed the Word to the Enemy, desired to know what the new word was; *Xenophon* answered, it was *Iupiter* the Sauour and victory; which *Cyrus* hearing, I accept it, saith he, and let it be so. The murmure here mentioned arose out of the deliuering of the *signe* of the battaile, which being deliuered to the inferior Officers by *Glearchus*, the chiefe Commander of the *Grecians*, and the Officers communicating it to the *Souldiers*, and the *Souldiers* one to another, went thorough the whole body of the phalange with a soft and still noise of them, that whispered it in the eares of their companions. *Xenophon* hath here set downe, that the word was *Iupiter* the sauour and victory; In another place he hath, *Iupiter* the Sauour and *Hercules* the guide, for the another demanded the *signe*; if they deliuered the word giuen by the *Generall*, they held them for friends, if otherwise, for enemies: ^b*Polyen* telleth of one *Acues* an *Arcadian* *Generall*, who commanded his *Souldiers* to kill him, who sooner hee were that should aske the word: so that he made the voice of the enemy serue for the word to his owne *Souldiers*. This *signe* was changed in every battaile, lest, if still the same *signes* were vsed, the Enemy might happily come to the knowledge of them, and so be taken for friend, vnder colour whereof much treason might be wrought: not much vnlike the *signe* giuen in a battell to be fought, is the watch-word by night, which was vually deliuered to the first Officers of the Army, and by them deriued to the rest, and so brought downe to the *Souldiers*, and was no lesse observed in a Citie, then in the Campe; in both which the same forme of watching was held, saue that in a Campe there were *Sentinels per due*, as we terme them at this day (the *Grecians* called them *παραβύματα*) who stood and watched without the trench of the campe; whereas the Cities for the most part had *Sentinels* watching only vpon the wals or market-place, or other pieces of strength giuing to, and receiving the word from the rounders. And as the *signes* of battaile varied vpon occasion, as the last example specified, so the watch-words were often changed, for feare they might come to the notice of the enemy; for the Enemy hauing the Watch-word, might nourish spies in our Campe or Citie, and haue certaine intelligence of all, that passeth there, as being taken for friends, because they carried the marks and tokens of friends; and they were changed not only at the reliefe of the watch, which time is the vusual moment of varying the word, but oftentimes after the same night, for feare that a *Sentinell* might be snatched vp without the Campe by an enemy, or else because of treason within, in reuealing the word to the enemy; oftentimes also they gaue a double word, one to the *Sentinell*, another to the round; and some.

^c *Xenoph. d. c. 19.*
^d *l. 1. c. 24.*

^e *Xenoph. d. c. 19.*
^f *l. 6. c. 26.*

^g *Polyen. l. 1.*

^h *παραβύματα*
ⁱ *πλῆθος.*

^j *Polyb. l. 9. c. 16.*

some.

* *Strabo* l. 15.
For the double
signe and by-
signe, v. *Aene.*
c. 24, 25. & *Ca-*
sar in *notis* ad
Aene c. 4. & c.
24, 25.

sometimes added a ^d mute signe, to the word, which kind they called ^{μεγιστον} *signa*, as it were a by-signe: and these are all the secret signes by word, which I finde in the Grecian practise. For the other words, as the exhortation of the Generall to the Army, and the words of training deliuered by the Cryer to the Souldiers, (for euery Company had a Cryer, because his voice was stronger and lower then the Captaines,) they neither are secret, and seeme rather to be in the nature of Commands, then Signes. The single word of bat-tell and watch, I find to bee called by no other name then *συνταγμα*, if it were a double word *συνταγμα δακτυλ*, if a mute signe were ioyned to the word *μεγιστον*.

The voice then of a man was vsed for a signe either when secret was required, or else where the Crier might bee heard in discharging his duty by proclamation, because it was weake and could not extend to the hearing of this whole Army, and many things required for publike and quicke direction, Instruments of sound were brought in. *Vegetius* saith very well, *Because a multitude cannot be governed by voice alone in the tumults of fight, and because many things are to bee commanded and done, according to necessity, the ancient use of all Nations found out, how the whole Army by signes might with speed haue notice of, and follow that, which the Generall iudged profitable for it.* To helpe therefore the weaknesse of the voice, Instruments of sound were brought in, which were of three sorts amongst the Grecians, the Trumpet, the Flute, and the Harpe. The Flute was vsed by the Lacedemonians, the Harpe by the Cretans, (euen to the ioyning of battaile) all other Grecians vsed the Trumpet. And yet in the battaile during the time of fight, and in retreats, the Lacedemonians also vsed the trumpet. I haue noted it before vpon the 9 Chapter, where I haue also touched in what occasions and actions the trumpet was the signe. Now will I giue some Presidents of the particulars thece remembered.

And first the Trumpet gaue the signe of removing the Campe: which appeareth by this precept of *Leo*, *When you will remove your Campe without tumult, you are to giuen commandement ouer night.* And againe, *the same day in which you remove, you are in the morning by day light to signifie the remove by sound of the Trumpet three times, and then remove, and the Leaders and the armed are to goe out first, then the wagons, if any bee, and then other things which are carried for the use of the Army.* Thus *Leo*, for the remove by day. By night, the Army of the Grecians that fought with *Artaxerxes* (as *Xenophon* reporteth) removed after this sort. After the death of *Cyrus*, the Grecians that followed *Cyrus*, being in distresse, and pinched with want of all things, not knowing what course to take, and hauing a message from *Arius* (a chiefe Persian Commander vnder *Cyrus* while he liued) to come and ioyn with him, that they might returne together to *Soria*, from whence they first began to march, *Clearchus* the Principall Commander of Grecians being determined to doe as *Arius* counseled, and yet loth the enemy should know of his departure, gaue these directions to the Army, *This must be your course, saith hee, we must goe euery man to his lodging, and sup with such provision as he hath, and when the Horne giueth the signe to rest, trusse up your baggage, at the second signe lay it vpon the carriage beasts, at the third euery man follow his Leader.* The Captaines and Coronels hearing this, did as they were commanded. This practise of *Clearchus* differeth not much from *Leos* precept: for hee vsed three sounds of the trumpet, and so *Leo* doth command: *Clearchus* yet further sheweth what was bee done at euery signe, which *Leo* pretermitteth, perhaps as a thing commonly knowne: Be-

sides,

sides, *Clearchus* vsed all these signes for another end, then for which they were first instituted. The Grecians at euening discharged their workemen from their worke by sound of trumpet, and that was called the signe of rest: then they diuided the night into foure parts, which were called foure watches; because their *Sentinels* were four times releued in a night, and at euery reliefe the Trumpet sounded. Now the sounds of the Trumpet by night, *Clearchus* conuerted into signes for marching according to *Leos* prescription, and removed his Campe, the enemy not perceiuing it. Hence it appeareth then that the Campe was removed by the sound of the Trumpet: And yet I finde that *Alexander* brought in an alteration about this signe of removing: For *Curtius* remembreth that *Alexander* at the first vsed it, but perceiuing afterwards, that this signe could hardly be discerned by the whole Army, by reason of the noise and stirring of the multitude, thought it better to sticke downe a Pole, and vpon the top of it to hang a coloured cloth, to giue his Army notice, that hee meant to remove, and euer after held himselfe to that signe.

The Trumpet likewise was the signe of fight: And when all the Trumpets of the Army sounded, it was called *το πολωνικον*, (in Latine *Classimum*) and the whole Army hearing this signe, began to aduence, and sung the *Pæan*, and gaue a shout, and presently ioyned with the enemy. The Greeke histories eue-ry where giue testimony hereof.

But wee are to note that this sounding of trumpets all together, was before the Army came to ioyn with the enemy, and that the end of it was to strike a terror into the enemy, and to encourage and stirre vp the mindes of their owne people to fight; for in the time of fight, they vsed another manner according to this precept of *Leo*, *I would not aduise you to sound with many Trumpets, during the time of conflict, it being a thing both hurtfull, and bringing with it tumult and confusion: for thereby no Commander can bee heard. But if the place bee found plaine and euen, the Trumpet of the middle battell will bee sufficient for all the other battels: if it be vneuen, or the winde, as it often happeneth, boisterous, or the noise of waters hinder the cleernesse of the sound, it will not bee inconuenient for a Trumpet to speake in euery battell, so that three may be sounded in the whole Army. For the more that silnesse is obserued, the lesse shall the younger sort of Souldiers be disturbed, or the beasts affrighted, and more terrible shall the battell seeme to the enemy, and directions be better heard and put in execution.*

The Trumpets were therefore the signes of fight, first all sounding together when the Army went to charge, and afterward one or three at the most during the time of fight.

And as the signe of fight was giuen by the Trumpet, so was the signe of retreat.

This also is manifest by the stratagem of *Pammenes*. *Polyen* relateth that hee *Pammenes* deceived his enemies by vsing a contrary course in sounding the Trumpet, then the common manner was, commanding his Souldiers when hee sounded the retreat, they should goe to charge; when he sounded a charge, they should retreat: In doing whereof, he greatly annoyed his enemies. The example of *Agessilaus* cited by mee in my notes vpon the 9 Chapter sheweth, that the trumpet was vsed for retreats: and the History of *Callicratidas* reported by *Diodor*. *Scit.* in his 15 Booke, *Suidas* nameth this kinde of sound giuen by the trumpet, *αναπιστικον*, as it were a calling backe, or a command to retire.

The

Cec. 7. 5. 31.

The Trumpet finally was used as a sign for the Army to stand, or to go forward as the business required. Albeit I must confess, there were other vidual signs besides the trumpet in this case: *Leo saith, In exercise of Horse, when you are to move the Body, you are to give signe either with the voice alone, or with the Trumpet, or else with the blowing downe of a Buncroll, and so to move them. And if you would haue them to make alie, you are to doe it either with the voice, saying stand, or with the Trumpet, or with the noise of a Target beaten upon with a sword. The like he speaketh of the exercise of foot in the same Chap. and after in the 9 Ch. he saith, you shall command the Souldiers to stand, by knowing exactly the sound of the Trumpet. & againe to move by the sound of the trumpet. So that although other signes were giuen for marching & retreat, yet the most common signe was by the Trumpet. Now we are to vnderstand, that all signes giuen by sound to the eare (except by the voyce) are called *signa seu iuocalia*, because albeit their sound be lower and stronger for the most part then the voyce is, yet they are not articulated, as is the sound of the voyce. Hitherto of signes that were giuen to the eare by the sound. Now are we to speake briefly of mute signes, or those that were set vp, as it were, a marke for the eye.

Seminocalia.

Mute Signes.

Onofand. c. 26.

Ælian. c. 24.

Ar. 1. 6. D.

L. 1. 6. 1. 6. 1. 6.

Mute signes were of two kinnes: for either they were simple, and used by themselves, as an object of the eye alone, or else they were mixed, and ioyned to signes of sound, and so communicated both to the eye and to the eare. Of the second sort were those whereof I haue spoken a little before, and they were called *medu-bisiam*, namely when a mute signe is added to a vocall: as when to the Word in the night is ioyned some speciall gesture of the body, as holding downe or nodding of the head, lifting vp the hand, putting off the hat, heaving vp the skirt of the garment, &c. concerning which see Onofander and Æneas. Of the first kinde were signes presented to the eye alone, which extended very largely, and serued where neither voyce nor trumpet could be heard by reason of the remotenesse of the place; these were called *ostia*, signes properly, and *ostia* likewise, because it was agreed by the parties, who gaue and tooke them, that they should haue such and such signification. The words be different, but the meaning and effect is all one; for as no signe can be, but there must be a giuer and a taker of the signe, so in that respect the signes called *ostia* by reason of the communication betwixt the giuer and taker of the signe, may aptly also be tearmed *ostia*. And albeit I noted before that the signe of the battaile and the watchword was called by no other name but *ostia*, yet it *ostia* taken often for a mute signe also: Many occasions were of giuing these signes, and they were sometimes shewen by day sometimes by night, and in the day time they were sometime proposed in the battaile, sometime in other places, where they might be perceived. *Arrian historieth of Alexander the Great, that at his being in the Country of the Taurians, his enemies Clytus and Glaucias, had with many horse, darters, and slingers, and not a few armed men, taken the Mountaines and high places, by which he was to passe in returning. The place was straight and woody, shut up on the one side with a riuer, on the other side with an exceeding high mountaine, the sides whereof were very steepe, so that the Army could not march with more then foure armed in front. Alexander marshalled his troopes to 120 in depth, and ordering 200 horse on each wing, he commanded silence, and bade to be taken to his directions: And first he willed the armed to aduance their pikes, then upon a signe giuen to let them fall, and charge, then to turne them close knit to the right hand, then

to the left, and sometime he moued the battell quickly forward, and sometime he moued it to the one wing, sometime to the other. And so fashioning it into diuers shapes in short time, and at last casting it into a wedge, as it were, he led it against the Enemy, who stood wondering at the speedinesse and good order of the diuers motions; and now perceiving the Army to be led against them, abode not the charge, but left the hill, which he held, and fled. Here are mentioned seuen severall motions of the Phalange, which wee haue in practice at this day: 1. Advancing of Pikes, 2. charging of them, 3. first to the right hand, 4. then to the left hand, 5. moving of the battell forward, 6. moving it to the right wing, and then 7. to the left. And all these motions were directed by a signe; what this signe was, may be doubted, because it is not expressed whether it was by voice, trumpet, or a mute signe: For my part I would not take it to haue beene by voyce; for how could the voice be heard in so great an Army as Alexander had (which according to Diodorus Siculus consisted of 30000 foot and 3000 horse) and was stretched out in depth, and had but foure armed in front: nor yet would I imagine it to haue beene giuen by trumpet; because, though perhaps the trumpet might be heard of all the Army, by reason of the Echo rebounding from the Mountaine and riuer, yet could it not fitly and cleerely distinguish the sound that should direct these seuen severall motions: I haue therefore declared in what case the trumpet was employed. Let me with leave therefore thinke, that it was a mute signe presented to the eye; as for the purpose a Coat, or other garment fastned to the end of a long staffe, the colour whereof being eminent, and the staffe being lifted aloft might be perceived by the whole Army. The signe then advanced to the full height, might signifie advancing of Pikes, which was the first motion. Being abased and held lowell before the front, charging to the front, which was the second motion; held out lowell to the right flanke charging to the right hand, to the left flanke, charging to the left hand; which were the third and fourth motions of Alexander: moving forward in front, it might be a signe for the battell to follow, which was the fift. Moving to the right hand, for the battell to march to the right, which was the sixt: to the left, for the battell to move to the left, which was the seuenth; which motion might more easily be performed, in case the ensignes of the particular Companies tooke their direction from the maine signe, and so framed themselves to the same motions, and the Souldiers to the motions of their Ensignes: This I say is my coniecture, wherein notwithstanding I preiudice no mans opinion, but leaue euery man to his owne conceit and fence. *Xenophon relateth a notable example of Iphicrates the Athenian, who being chosen Admirall by the Citie, as soone as he began to take the Sea with his Navy, both at once viled, and also prepared all things necessary for Sea-fight: for he left at home the greater sailes, as one that sailed forth to fight, and seldom used the greater masts, were the winde neuer so faire, but hasting forward with the oare, he both made the bodies of his men strong and healthy, and the Navy gained a speedier way: and oftentimes where he meant to dine, there would he draw his whole Navy from the Shore in a ming, and turning them about, and addressing their prowes to the land, giue a signe for the ships to hasten with all celerity to the land, euery one as it could. It was a great reward and victory for those that came first to land, to water, and take all thing they needed, as also to dine, and a great punishment to the sluggards to want those commodities, and besides to put to sea againe, when the signe was giuen: for the first did all things at ease, and as they list, the last were streightened with haste, and

Diodor. Sic. l. 17. 566.

Xenoph. hist. grec. l. 6. s. 17. c.

A single fil.

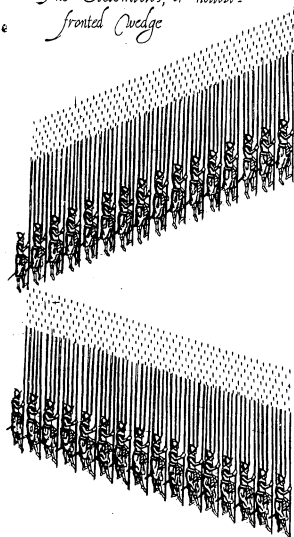
The Tactics of Ælian, or

must doe as they could. When, by chance he dined in the enemies Countrey, he set out Sentinels (some upon land as behooved, other upon ships rearing up the Masts, that from thence they might take a view of all things: for these being placed in a higher station, might easily discern and see further, then the other standing upon even ground: wherefoever he supped and slept, he suffered no fires to be made in the Campe by night, but held light before the Campe, that no man might have access to it without discovery. Oftentimes in faire weather, he no sooner supped, but put to sea againe, and in case there were a fresh gale, sailed forward, and the sailers in the meane time gave themselves to rest: when halt was needfull he releaseth the saylers by turnes, and in the day time upon signs led sometimes in a wing, some times in a phalange.

That these were *mute signes* from the Admirall ship (besides that, the word *equivo* importeth so much for the most part) no man I thinke acquainted with Sea-service will make question, considering that both *voice* and *trumpet* easily giue place to the whistling of windes and roaring of tempests, and raging of waues of the Sea. To say nothing of the distance of one ship from another, nor of the tumult and cry of Mariners, or sound of oares (for in those times sea-fights were altogether in Gallies driven with oares) which make them vncapable of direction by any other kinde of *signe*. And for these *mute signes* to be given by sea, I meane, of what kinde they should be, and to what end, and in what manner deliuered, I thinke good to cite the words of the Emperour *Leo*, which found thus: 'Let there be, saith he, in your Galley a *signe* standing in some eminent place, either an ensigne, or some bannerall, or some such like, wherewith after you haue signified what is to be done, your direction may straight be vnderstood and executed, whether you would haue your Xanie to go to charge, or retire from the Enemy, or to countermarch to encompassse the enemy, or to hasten to relieue some of your owne party distressed, or slacke or quicken their aduancing, or lay or avoid an ambush, or such like: that they seeing the *signes* from your ship, may receive direction what is to be done. And a little after he declareth the manner and v-
face of these *signes*, saying; Let the *signe* be shewne either standing upright, or inclining to the right or left hand, or lifted aloft, or let fall low, or be taken cleane away, or transported to another place, or changing by making the head of it appeare in diuers formes by adding other shapes of colours vnto it, as was vsed by the Antients. For their manner was in the day of battaile to reare up a red coloured *signe*, which they called *Γοργων*, and it was nothing else but a peece of red cloath exalied vpon a long staffe, and such like; but it may be more safely deliuered by your owne hand. I thought good to cite these passages of *Leo*, the rather to giue light to the place last before recited out of *Zenophon*. For out of this precept of *Leo* the practise of *Iphicrates* his motions may more perpicuouly appeare.

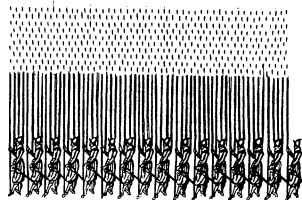
Now that these red coloured *signes*, and *signes* of other colours also were vsed in fights on land, *Polybius* sheweth in the battell betwene *Antigonus* the Macedonian King, and *Cleomenes* the King of Sparta. *Antigonus* Army consisted of diuers nations, Macedonians, Agrians, Galatians, Achæans, Bæotians, Epirotes, Acarnans, Illyrians. *Cleomenes* his enemy had taken and fortified all the streight passages which led into the territory of the Lacedemonians (for thither did *Antigonus* bend his inuasion) and so disposed his forces that *Antigonus* could not passe without fight: Hereupon *Antigonus* resolved to fight, and because his fight was to be ordered in and against diuers places, and at diuers times, as his advantage fell out, he gaue diuers *signes* to his different people, when to giue on: The *signe* to the Illyrians was, then to charge vp the

The Coelembolos, or hollow.
fronted Oedg



The front

The right Induction

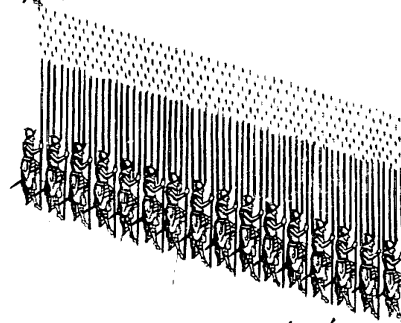
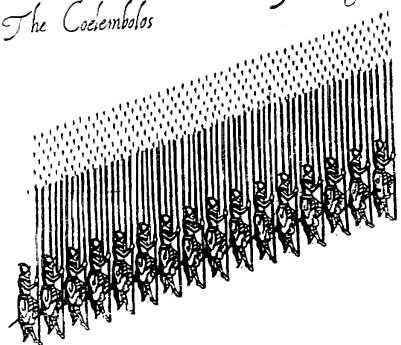


Cap. 30.

Cap. 36.

The Coelembolos

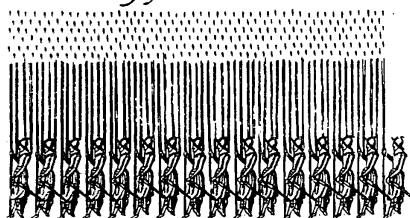
The left wing



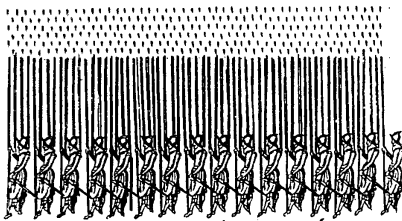
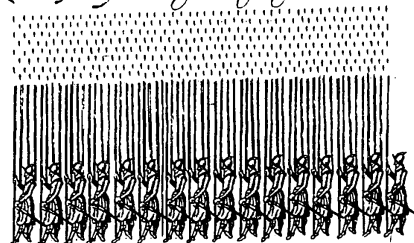
The right wing

The front

The Phalange set against y^e left wing
of y^e Coelembolos



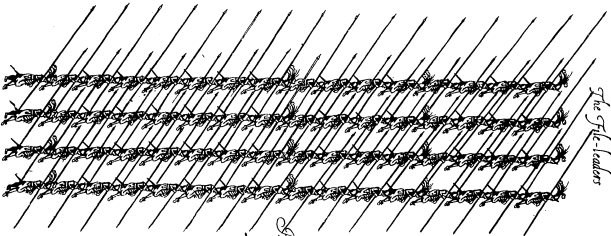
The forbearing Phalange



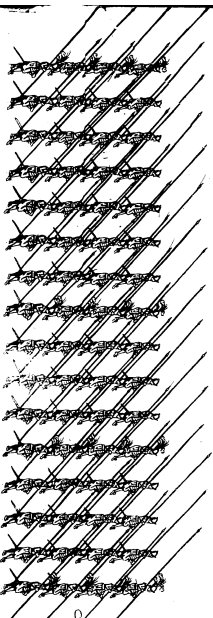
The Phalange set against y^e right wing
of y^e Coelembolos

Cap. 36.

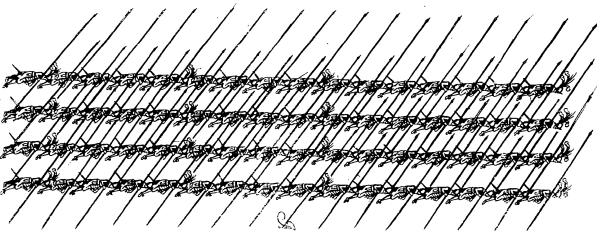
The style-leaders



As Deduction to the
left hand



As right induction
the front



As Deduction to the
right hand

The style-leaders

the hill, when they saw a white linnen cloath held vp from the place about *Olympas*, to the *Megalopolitans* and horse, when they saw the King lift vp a purple garment. ^a *Cæsar* commanded his Souldiers not to fight without his direction, saying, he would giue a signe with an ensigne, when he would haue them begin. And al-^{civil 323.} beit the colour of red was vsed for the most part in Signals, yet was not the party that gaue the signe precisely tyed to any colour: it was enough if the signe might giue notice of the Generals intent to them, whom it concerned: the first ^b *Ptolomie* gaue a signe to his Nauie to begin the fight by hoisting vp ^b *Diod. Sic. l. 20. a gilt Target in his Admirall galley, ^c other with holding vp or shaking their ^c *Vege. l. 3. c. 5. garment, or their hand, or with wearing some vnusuall marke vpon a horse, vpon Armes, vpon vestures, or such like. This is to be noted for a generall rule, that when you finde in history a signe was giuen at a great distance, and it is not expressed what signe it was, you must vnderstand that it was a mute signe presented to the eye, because the sence of hearing is feeble, and not able to discerne farre off. Hitherto of mute signes giuen by day. In the night, when all was couered with darknesse, and the vse of sight taken away, the vsuall manner was to giue a signe by flame of fire, which manner of signall might be descried in the night, being the darknesse neuer so great: ^d *Scipio Africanus* the younger, hauing enclosed *Numintia* round about with a trench and rampier, commanded that if the Enemy fell out vpon any part of his fortification, a red peece of cloath should be held out by day vpon a long staffe, a flaming fire by night, that himselfe or his chiefe officers might come to succour. The like shall you finde in *Cæsars Commentaries* and *Q. Curtius* and in other Historiographers both ^e *Appian in Hist. panica 306. R. Greeke and Latine. ^e *Vege. l. 3. c. 5.****

These were the signes vsed in the battell, and in the Campe: without the Campe were set *Sentinels* both horse and foot to fore-warne and giue aduertisement to the Generall of the Enemies approach. To these oftentimes the Generall gaue a signe amongst themselves, and they by signes signified what was done abroad: For the manner of placing these *Sentinels*, see *Aeneas*. The signes themselves were such as might be discerned by the eye, and of that kinde and forme whereof I haue made mention already.

Of Marching, and of the diuers kind of battels fit for a march. And first of the right induction, of the *Calembolos*, and of the *Triphalange* to be opposed against it.

CHAP. XXXVI.

(1) **B**Eing now to speake of marching, I will first giue to vnderstand that some kinde of march is a (2) right-induction, other some a (3) deduction on the right or left hand, and that in a single, or double, or treble, or quadruple sided battell: In a single, when one Enemy is feared, in a double, when two in a treble, when three in a quadruple, when the Enemy purposeth to giue on all sides. Therefore the March is vndertaken sometimes in a single, sometimes in a double, or in a threefold, or in a fourefold phalange.

(4) A right induction is, when one body of the same kinde followeth another; as if a *Xenagy* lead, the rest follow *Xenagy*-wise; or if a *Tetrarchy* lead,

lead, the rest follow according to that forme. It is so called when the march stretcheth it selfe forth into a *wing*, hauing the *depth* many times exceeding the *length*.

Against it is opposed the *Cæmbolos* or *hollow-wedge*, which is framed when the Antistomus *diphalance* disioyneth the leading wings, closing the reare in forme of the letter V, as the figure after doth teach, in which the front is disseuered, and the reare ioyned and knit together: for the right induction pointing at the *midst* of the Enemies battell, the Cæmbolos quickly opening before, serueth both to *frustrate* the charge of the front of the *induction*, and to *classe in* and circumsunt the *flanks* thereof.

Furthermore a Triphalange is to be set against the Cæmbolos, one Phalange fighting against one wing of the Cæmbolos, the second against the other, and the middle or third phalange forbearing, and expecting a time fit to charge.

NOTES.

THe Marching of an Army is a principall head of warre. Aelian toucheth it no further, then to shew the order and shapes of battells fit for a March: and were it possible, that all grounds were alike open, and without impediments, as namely without trees, ditches, hedge-rows ragged waies, valleys, hills, brooks, and such like, the best forme of your marching should be to proceede with your whole phalange in a *square battell*, which forme is ready for all attempts of the enemy, and is the beginning and fourie of other formes, and with no great difficulty wil take & be changed into any shape you desire. Leo sheweth the inconueniency of the *Herse* or induction in marching thorow Champagne and large plaines, first in that the Enemy with a *broad-fronted* battaile may *enfold* and encompass the front, and so easily rout it then, because if the Enemy *charge* the *flanke* it will quickly be broken, as being without depth: further, if he fall vpon the *reare*, it is in the like danger of encompassing, as was the front: lastly neither can the *front* giue succour and assistance to the *reare*, in case it be ouerpreiiled by the Enemy, nor yet the *reare* to the *front*, they being so farre distance one from another. And he concludeth that the forme of a *square* or *broad-fronted* battaile, is fit for a march in all occasions, being easily to be ordered, and without danger. But seeing it is not possible, as Polibius saith, or else very hard to finde out places of 20 furlong, or more, where in none of the impediments aboue recited shall be, the formes of marching must necessarily be accommodated to the ground and wayes through which your forces are to passe: what formes they be, the following Chapters wil shew.

2. Some kinde of March is a right Induction. The expectation of the enemies approach is oftentimes a cause of varying th^e kinde of march: if he alwayes appeared in front, there should need no other proceeding then with the file-leaders in front: because he seekes his aduantage, and in the March sometimes attacheth the reare, sometimes one flanke, sometimes another, the Grecians to prouide for all attempts, so ordered their March, that wherefoeuer they feared the enemies giuing on, there they opposed the file-leaders, as the best men of the Armie, and most able to receiue the assault: yet for the most part the March was vnderaken in a right induction,

that is, without inuerting the ordinary kind of file-leading in front, which also is our manner of marching at this day. But yet sometimes in a

3. *Deduction* on the right or left hand.] There is but one kind of right induction, viz. a march, that hath the file-leaders in the front. Of Deductions there are 2 kinds: one to the *right*, the other to the *left hand*. And because the file-leaders march on the right or left hand flanke, not in front; therefore the one is called a *right hand deduction*; the other a *left hand deduction*. So that not the body which continueth or beginneth the march, but the place of the file-leaders in the march, makes the difference betwixt Induction and Deduction. What the Use of Deduction is, we shall see in the next Chapter.

4. *A right Induction is.*] Aelian describeth the right Induction by the marching of severall bodies of one kind one after another: as if a Xenagy lead, all the rest of the forces are to bee separated into Xenagies, and singly one after another to follow the first leading Xenagy: so of other bodies lesser or greater. Notwithstanding in a right Induction, we must take this caution with all, that the file-leaders proceed in the *front*; for otherwise if they bee placed in the *flanke*, it is now no *induction*, but a *deduction*, howsoever the severall bodies of a kind follow one another.

This is that manner of marching which is called, marching in a *wing*, of which I haue spoken sufficiently in my notes vpon the 30 Chapter. There are other kind of *inductive marches* set forth in the Greeke History, which are not altogether of the forme which Aelian describeth: for where Aelian would haue *Xenagies* to follow one another with the file-leaders in front, his meaning is, that the whole 16 files of the Xenagy should bee laid together all the file-leaders being layed in an euen front. Now you haue examples where whole Companies march in one file; so that all the file-leaders haue not the front, but rest included in the inward parts of the file, and yet many of these files ioyned together make an induction. Xenophon reporteth, that when Cyrus the elder was mustering and exercising his Army in the field, there came unto him a messenger from Cyaxares the King of the Medes, being Cyrus his vncle, signifying, that an Ambassador was arrived from the Indians, in which regard, said hee, the King would haue you to come to him with all speed, and I bring you from Cyaxares one of his richest garments: For he desireth in regard the Indians are to see you, that your presence may bee adorned with as faire and sumptuous apparell as may bee. Cyrus receiving this message, commanded the first Taxiarchi to stand in front, hauing his Company ordered behind him in one file, and himselfe holding the right corner file of the battell, and willed him to deliuer that Command to the second Taxiarchi, and so the word to passe to the rest: They quickly obeyed, and put the Command in execution; and so it came to passe in short space, that the Front had in it 300, (for so many the Taxiarches were) the depth of the battell 100. After they stood in this order, hee commanded them to follow, as he led, and straightway he led them running: but because hee perceived that the way was too streight to march with so many in front, hee willed the first Chiliarchy to follow in the same order in which it then was, and the second in the Reare thereof, and so the rest: and he sent two Sergeants to the turnings of the way, to giue direction to such as were not fully instructed in the business. When they were come to Cyaxares gate, hee willed the first Taxiarchi to order his Company 12 deepe, and the Dodecarches to stand in front all along the pallace; and hee willed to signify so much to the next Taxiarchi; and so the rest one to another through the whole Army. They did as they were commanded: and he went in to Cyaxares. Here haue you

a Xenagy and a Syntagma, are all one: It consisteth of 16 files, 16 into the file.

a Xenag, b. Cyrus, l. 2. 56.

b A Taxiarch was a Captaine of 100 men. c is the word.

This was a body of 1000 men, and they were now ordered to stand in front, the depth 100, and the Dodecarches commanded the hinder halfe files.

first a Company drawne into file, and so standing; then 299 Companies fashioned into files, and laid flank-wise to the first, and so marching as long as the ground would permit: The ground afterward being capable of no more then 10 in front, the Chiliarchy of the right hand was drawne forth to leade the march, which consisted of 10 Companies, the Body being 10 in front, and 100 in depth: The rest of all the Chiliarchies followed the Reare one of another in the same order: coming to a place where Alte was to be made, the first Taxiarch drew out his Company by 12, placing the first file leader in front with the first 12 of the file, and sleeuing vp the Dodecadarch of the same file to Front with the file leader, and the hindermost 12 of them that followed him to ranke with the former halfe file; the like was done by the 3 other files, so that each Taxis had 8 in Front, and 12 in depth, and there being 30000 men in that Army, the whole Army comprehended 300 Taxis, the halfe files of 12 a peece, amount to the number of 2400: so many men in number also making the Front of the Army. And for the leading of the first Chiliarchy in the straight way, and the rest following in the like forme, it was an *induction*, which notwithstanding sheweth from *Ælians* induction, *Ælians* Chiliarchy in the *induction* requieth the file leaders in front, this dispersed them in the whole body, *Ælians* Chiliarchy would haue had but 16 in depth, this had 100. For marching in like manner with the Captains before, and the single files of a Company cait into one file after them, I finde another example in *Xenophon*. The elder *Cyrus* being to invade *Assyria* by night, directeth his Army thus; Let vs leave with the carriage beasts and waggons, such as are fittest for that service, and let *Ovriabes* be their Leader, because hee is both skillfull in the waies, and otherwise sufficient for any affaire of Command: And let vs set forward with the best and most able horse and foot, carrying with vs victual for three daies: for the lighter, and with the lesse lumber wee shall appoint out selues, with so much the more pleasure the after passing daies shall we dine, suppe, and sleepe. Now let the march be ordered in this manner: First, you *Chrylonthas*, lead the Armed foote with all their Captaines in Front, as long as the way is even and broad; and let every Company be ordered in depth (soldier after soldier file-wises) for the closer we put our selues together, the sooner and safer shall wee end our march. The cause why I would have the Armed goe before, is in regard they are the heaviest of the Army; and when the heaviest goe before, the light must needs follow at ease. But when the lightest leade, especially in the night, it is no manerule if the Army be secured and distracted, the light easily slipping away, and hasting in the Vant. Next unto these, let *Artabazus* lead the Targetiers and Archers of the Persians, and *Andramias* the Median, the Median footemen next, then let *Einbas* follow with the Armenian foot, and *Artuchas* after him with the Hircanians; and next *Thambradas* with the Sacan foote, then *Damatias* with the Cadusians; and let all these march with the Captains in front, and on the right flanke of their *Pleisum* the Targetiers (or Peltrasts) the Archers on their left; for so shall they better second one another. After these let the whole baggage march, the Commanders whereof must be carefull to haue all things ready before they sleepe, and early in the morning to bee at the appointed place with their furniture, and decently to march forward. After the baggage let *Madatas* the Persian lead the Persian Horse with their Captaines in front, and let the Captaines order their Companies in a file, as the foot Captaines did: Next after these *Rambaces* the Median, in the same sort the Horse which bee commandeth: Then you *Tygraues* your horse: Then the

a *Xenophon* Ciro. 2. 103. 2.

b *Dionysius* 10. 103.

c *10* 103.

d *Pleisum* is a hollow square battail.

other Horse Captaines euery one the Horse with which they serue mee. And as the Cadusians came last to my service, let them close up the reare of the Army: Thus *Xenophon*.

The passage is somewhat long, but I thought good to recite it, because it containeth the order of night marches vsuall of old time. First, the armed foote march euery Nation after other, as long as the ground would giue leaue, in a square battell framed of Company laid to Company, euery Company drawne out into a file, the Targetiers on the one flanke, the Archers on the other: then the carriage: last of all the Horse. The reason is added why the slowest haue the Vant, namely, left in the night, when all things (saith the same *Xenophon*) are to bee vnderstood and done by direction to the eare, and not to the eye, the Horsemen or light armed (who are nimble & quick, the Horsemen by reason of the Horse that carry them; the light armed, because they are troubled with no weight of Armes) leading, they might happily with their speede out-goe, and leaue the heavy armed beehinde, who being burdened with the heauinesse of their Armes, can march but slowly.

But my principall end was to shew, that the file-leaders in an *induction*, are not alwaies placed in Front; I will adde one example out of *Xenophon* more to the same purpose: When the Grecians that followed *Cyrus* the younger into Persia, returned toward their Country, they came as far as the river *Phisphos*, where they found there a bridge, and not farre off a great City called *Opis*, at which the base brother of *Cyrus* and *Artaxerxes*, leading from *Susa* and *Ecbatana* a mighty Army with him, to giue aid to the King, met the Grecians; and causing his own Army to make halt, hee tooke vnto of the Grecians as they passed by. *Clearchus* led his Army 2 in Front, and in his march oftentimes made alie. As long as the Vant of the Army staid, so long the Reare must likewise alie. So that the Grecians were of opinion they had a great Army; and the Persian was abashed at the sight of such a multitude.

Whether this march were *Ælian* is right Induction, a man would doubt, because it is not expresse by *Xenophon* particularly how the bodies of the Phalange did march: onely hee saith, that *Clearchus* led his Army, in *bino* (saith the Latine translation: I interpret it 2 in Front. For two in depth it could not be, because *Xenophon* speaketh of a stand made oftentimes by the Vant which caused the Reare to stay. And had the Army bene but 2 in depth, it had bene all Vant, the 10000 Grecians being ordered into two ranks and no more, each of them being 5000 men: besides that, the Persian wondered at the multitude which passed by him in flanke; which flanke, if it had consisted of no more then two, his wonder would soon haue ended. But *Clearchus* vsed Art to make his number seeme greater, and being but 2 in Front, they must needs be 5000 in file; to which 5000 giuing 6 foot a peece for their open order, the ground wil contain 30000 foot in depth, which amout to six miles of ours. The vlage of the *Lacedemonians* was to march sometimes with 2 in Front, if the way were straight. So did *Dercyllidas* in Asia the lesse, when entering into a City, his whole Army followed him peaceably vsing two in Front. So b *Archidamus* the sonne of *Agessilaus*, advancing against the Arcadians by a cart way that led to *Cromnum*, ordered his Army 2 in front, as then his march fell out. When they approached one to another, *Archidamus* his army being in a wing by reason

a *Xenophon* 2. 24. 2.

b *10* 103.

Five foot make a pace, 30000 foot are 6 miles, 10000 paces making a mile.

of the straightnesse of the way, the *Archadians* in a broad-fronted phalange, with targets close faced together, the *Lacedæmonians* could not endure the charge of the *Archadians*, and forthwith both *Archidamus* was wounded through the thigh, and they slaine that fought before him. Hee saith that *Archidamus* marched two in from wing-wise by reason of the straightnesse of the way. In that he saith wing-wise, he sheweth the army was drawne out in depth, which is proper to an induction; and when he maketh the way the cause, he giueth a reason, why it so marched. But to returne to that I first propounded, the inductions hitherto specified in the former examples seeme to differ from *Ælians* right induction, as neither hauing all the file-leaders in front, nor yet single bodies of the same kinde one to follow another, the companies being each drawne into one file, and then two, or three, or foure, or more of these files laid together, according to the largenesse of the way, and the rest of the army following in the manner afore expressed.

^a Orosius 4.16.

5. *Against it is opposed the Cælembolos.*] The *Cælembolos* is a wedge hollow in front, and to be opposed against the right induction, saith *Ælian*. I haue noted before that it hath bene the manner of all famous Generals to fit the embattailing of their armies to the forme which the enemy vseth at the time of ioyning: and therefore it much concerneth the ^a Commander of an army to be skilfull in all formes, which are of true vie, and to know the aduantage that one carrieth against another. The right induction is, and alwayes hath bene the ordinary forme to march in. To order your troopes in an aduantageous forme against it, the *Cælembolos* was invented: It is called by the Greekes a *hollow wedge*, because it is not filled vp in the midst, but includeth a void space bias-wise in front betwixt the points of both wings, and ioyneth it selfe together in the reare. So that to one that shall view it behinde it seemes a plaine wedge, and yet in propriety of speech it cannot be called a *Wedge*; for a *Wedge* hath three sides and three points, and beareth the true forme of a triangle; and with the former point it chargeth the enemy, as hath bene shewne in the horse-mans wedge. This hath but one point and two sides, neither doth it charge the enemy with the point, but receiuing the front of his battaile into the empty space, striketh vpon both the flanks thereof with the wings, it hath opened, and so seeketh to distresse it; the *Cælembolos* hauing this aduantage, that it fighteth with the best men, viz. the file-leaders ordered in the inside of the wings thereof, not against the file-leader of the right induction, but against the weaker fort, who are ordinarily placed in the flanks thereof. The Latine names are more fit and significant to expresse the forme. By some it is called a ^b *paire of tongues*, by other some a *paire of sheeres*, both appellations seruing to set forth the right forme of the *Cælembolos*: for the one and the other open their foremost parts to a pretty distance, and the hinder parts, which are pinned and fastened together, end in a narrow point, as doth the *Cælembolos*. And they were so farre from tearing it a wedge, that they held it the best forme to receiue and frustrate the charge of the true wedge, as may be seene in ^a *Vegetius*.

^a Forceps Veget.
l. 3. c. 18. 19.
^b A. Gellius l. 1. c.
6. 9. for pax.

^a Vegetius l. 10. c. 18.

6. *Which is framed when.*] The fashioning of the *Cælembolos* springeth out the *Diphalance Antistomus*. What that *Diphalance* is, we shall see in the 40 chapter of this booke. Thus much I may before-hand signifie, that the

the file-leaders ought to be placed within the hollow flanks of the *Cælembolos*, as it were a linying to the insides; and the *Diphalance Antistomus* being once framed (which is to haue the file-leaders in the midst from the one end of the battaile to the other) there needeth no further labour, then to dispatch the front in the midst (leauing the file-leaders on both sides) and to fasten and ioyne together the reare, to the end that the front of the right induction may enter into the hollownesse, but yet be mashed, as it were in a net, and neither able to passe through the reare of the *Cælembolos*, being close shut, nor yet to giue offence to those that fight in the front of the *Cælembolos*, hauing no man whom they may charge in the void space; nor yet daring to breake the forme of their battaile after ioyning. For it is a good obseruation of ^a *Vegetius*, that in fight the manner of your embattailing is not to be changed, nor any number of *Soldiers* to be transported to other places then they haue: ^a *Vegetius* l. 9. c. 19. For herc tumults and confusion will streight arise, and the enemy will easily take aduantage of such as are not ready or fall out to be disordered. I haue said that the Latines and Grecians differ in the name of this battaile, howbeit they agree both about the forme, which may here appeare by *Ælian*, who resembleth it to the letter V, neither can there a better resemblance be made; for as the letter V consisteth of two lines which are open in the top, close in the bottome, so doth this forme of battaile of two sides, which in front are void, open, and disseuered, in the reare ioyned and closed fast together. If you will therefore frame this battaile, you must first make a square, the file-leaders being all in front; then must you wheele the wings of your battaile into the midst, and so your file-leaders shall be in the midst; lastly, you are to open the front of your battaile, leauing halfe the file-leaders in the inside of one flanke, and I also in the inside of the other, keeping the reare close knit together: and for the opening, it ought to be somewhat more then will receiue in: o the void space the front of the right induction, which being once let in, the inward two flanks of the wedge where the file-leaders are, ought to face to both hands, and to charge the outward flanks of the right induction, and so circumuent them.

7. *Furthermore, a Triphalange.*] A *Triphalange* in this place of *Ælian* is, when a square body or phalange is from front to reare diuided into three parts. The figure shewes the manner. The *Triphalange* hath as much aduantage against the *Cælembolos*, as the *Cælembolos* had against the right induction. The *Cælembolos* compelled the right induction to fight with the worst men, and auoied the affront of the file-leaders, which were the best. The *Triphalange* hauing the file-leaders in front, opposeth two seuerall fronts: against the two wings of the *Cælembolos*, where there are no file-leaders (for they are alwayes disposed for the inside) and both auoideth the aduantage the *Cælembolos* sought, and maketh the *Cælembolos* fight with the worst men, in as much as one of the *Phalanges* chargeth the front of one wing of the *Cælembolos*, the file-leaders whereof are in flanke within the hollownesse, the other chargeth the other. Now it hath this aduantage besides, that it spareth reserves for all occasions, by off-holding the third *Phalange*. If the *Cælembolos* be beaten by the two opposing *Phalanges*, all is lost, and no hope left of winning the field, no other forces being to second it, where notwithstanding the *Cælembolos* hauing gotten the better, may be eurbed, and the victory arrested by this reserve, and by the remnant of the other two *Phalanges* broken.

Words

The Tacticks of Ælian, or

Words of direction in the right induction.

- 1 The right-corner Xenagy march out } So is it of all other bodies, if
2 The rest follow in Xenagies } they begin the march.

Direction for the Calemboles.


1. Wheele the wings of your battaille into the middest of your body ——— } So shall the file-leader be
2. Open your front to the right and left hand, keeping your Reare close. } in the middest; but we
must note that the two
midlemost leaders must
be centors for the other
to wheele about.

For the Triphalange.

- 1 The two wings face to the right and left hand, the middle remaining as it was. } That is, to be able to meet in a
2 March out to the distance required: } right line the two fronts of
3 Stand, { When they come to the place } the wings of the Calembo-
required, } los.
4 Face as you were.
5 Advance and charge.

Of Paragoge or deduction.

CHAP. XXXVII.

- (1)  Paragoge or deduction is when the Phalange proceedeth in
(2) a wing, not by (3) file, but by ranke, having the *commanders* or file-leaders either on the right-hand, which is called
a right hand deduction, or on the left hand, which is a left-
hand deduction. For the Phalange marcheth in a (4) double,
treble, or quadruple front, according to the place or part it is suspected the
enemy will give on. And both the paragogies beginning the fight in flanke,
doe (5) make the length double to the depth. This forme of fight was devised
to teach a Souldier to receive heedfully the charge of the enemy, not onely in
front but also in flanke.

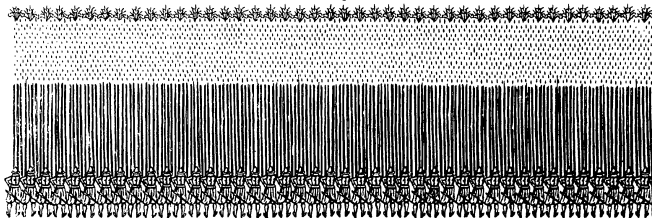
NOTES.

- (1) *Deduction is when the Phalange.* Induction is spoken of, Deduction followeth, which is the second kinde of march. For these are no other

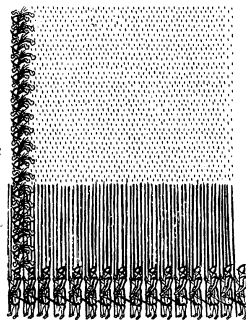
Cap. 37.

A four fronted Phalange against
all attempts of the Enemy

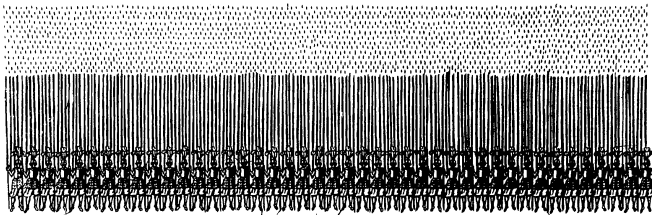
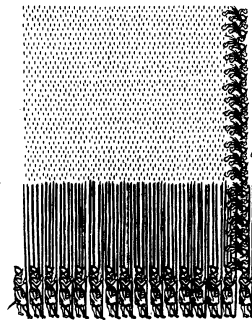
The Front of y^e reare



The Front of y^e
right flank



The Front of y^e
left flank



The Front of the March

other kinds then Induction and Deduction: the one with the file-leaders in front, the other with the file-leaders in flanke. Neither doth the greatnesse or smalnesse of the body make any difference herein; be the body neuer so great (as is the Phalange) or so small (as one Company) yet must the file-leaders either lead, or else be in flanke of the march. The reare in necessity may well be made good by the bringers vp. Deduction is the mother of many formes of battailes vsuall in marches: from it come the Calembolos, whereof we spake before; from it are the Antistomus, the Peristomus, the Homoiostomus, the Heterostomus, of which hereafter.

2. *When the Phalange proceedeth in a wing.*] Suidas hath, that Paragoge or deduction is said to be when the phalange marcheth with the file-leaders on the right or left hand; if on the left, it is said to be a left-hand deduction; if on the right, a right-hand deduction. He maketh no mention of a wing as *Alian* doth; for it may so fall out, that the body may be such as hath the depth and breadth all one, as a Xenagy which hath sixteene in breadth, and sixteene in depth: some bodies also, as the Taxies and Tetrarchies haue the depth lesse then the breadth, the first holding sixteen in depth & no more then eight in breadth, the last foure in breadth and sixteene in depth, so that they march nor in a wing. But because marches for the most part are vnderaken in a wing, it is the cause why *Alian* saith that deductions proceed in a wing, the depth whereof manifoldly exceedeth the length, and they proceed.

3. *Not by file but by ranke.*] That is, the file-leaders being wheeled to the flanke, after they haue settled themselues to march, proceed on their iourney as they stand in the flanke, onely facing that way the march is intended, and returne not to lead in the front of the battaile, as they did at first. To lead by file is, when the file-leaders proceede, and haue their files following at their backe. To lead by ranke is, when that which was the flanke at first, becommerh the front, and beginneth the march, and the rest follow accordingly flanke-wise: yet this is to be noted, that albeit the front of the battaile be changed in the deduction, yet remaine the files, files as they were before, and are not altered into ranks. *Alian* himselfe giueth testimony hereto, affirming that the Phalange proceedeth not by file, but by ranke, whereas if the files held not their first name after wheeling to the right or left flank, the march forward (the file-leaders being in the flanke) should be by file and not by ranke.

4. *For the phalange marcheth in a double, treble, or quadruple side.*] A double-sided battaile is that, which hath the file-leaders on both the flanks, the rest backe to backe within, when the enemy giueth on. For otherwise, when they march forward, all their faces are set one way, that is toward the place whether the march is intended. A treble-sided battaile is, when three sides of the battaile are to be charged, whether the front and both the flanks, or both the flanks and the reare, or the reare, one of the flanks, and the front, and the file-leaders are ordered on all the three sides. A quadruple battaile is, when the file-leaders are placed in front in the reare and in both the flanks. An example of the quadruple battaile will shew the vse and framing of the rest: for as the rest oppose one, two, or three sides against the enemy, so the quadruple fortifieth and strengthneth all the foure sides, by placing the file-leaders in them. Of ordering the file-leaders vpon one flanke, deduction may be an example: vpon both flanks, the Antistomus phalange vpon front and


Xenoph. de exp.
l. 3. 304. E.

and reare, the Amphistomus, on all foure sides, the Plesium, of all which occasion will be giuen to speake hereafter. Now I may signifie that the *Plesium* is a square hollow battaile, the length whereof much exceedeth the depth, hauing the armed foot placed on all the foure sides, the light-armed throwne into the middest. The Græcians that followed *Cyrus* the yonger into Persia against King *Artaxerxes*, after their Coronels were taken prisoners and put to death by the subtilty and periury of *Tissaphernes*, being but 10000. and to retreat thorow open and plaine grounds, in which they were like to be charged by an infinite number of horse and foot, by the aduice of *Xenophon*, cast themselues into this forme; his words are in effect these, *Wee shall, it may be march in more safety, if we order our selues into a Plesium of armed foot, and giue the carriage and disarmed multitude a place of security within the hollownesse of the battaile. If therefore it be now resolued afore-hand, who shall command in the front of the Plesium, and take charge of Vaunt, who on the flanks, and who in the reare, we shall not neede to take aduise at the approach of the enemy, but put in execution that which is resolued before.* And a little attter: *And mine opinio is, that Cherisophus is the fittest Commander for the Vaunt, because he is a Lacedemonian; and let two of the chiefe Coronels take care of the Flanks; the yongest, namely my selfe and Timasion, will looke to the reare.* This was *Xenophon*s counsell, and in this forme they marched, and being charged afterward with both Persian Horse and foot, they defended themselues against all efforts of the Enemy. The quadruple battaile therefore was vsed, when the enemy was expected to giue on all sides; and he that can frame it, can easily cast his troopes into the other two formes; yet will not euery receiuing the enemy in flanke proue a Deduction; for in case of necessity and sudden approaches of the enemy, you shall be driuen to *Facing*, wherein you onely turne the faces of souldiers to the flanke without any deduction. See the figure of this battaile expressed in the picture.

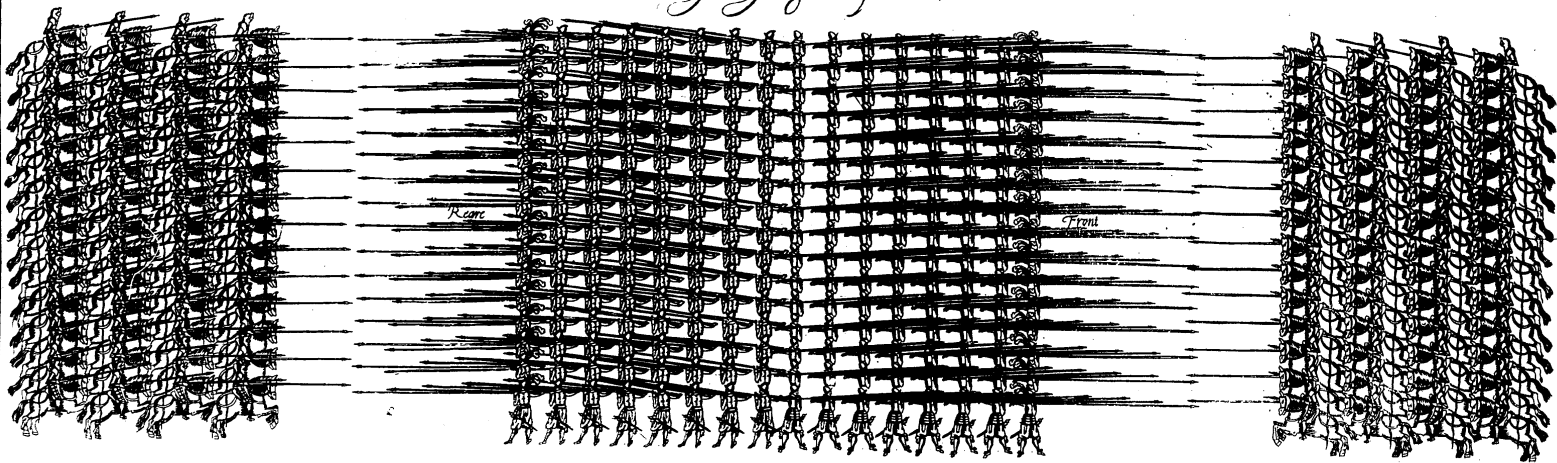
5. *Doe make the length double to the depth.*] I suspect this place to be corrupted in the text of *Ælian*, the rather because before in the description of a Deduction, he saith that *Deductions* proceed in a *ming*, wherein the depth^a manifoldly exceedeth the length of the battaile, as the last fore-going chapter doth shew. Besides the example, which is giuen in the text is not of *double* proportion, but of *treble* and more, ten comprehending three, three times and more.

Of the Phalange *Amphistomus*.

CHAP. XXXVIII.

(1)  He Phalange Amphistomus (for it is so called, because it hath two fronts, and that part of the battaile that is set and aduanced against the enemy, is called a front:) seeing then in this forme the middle-most are ordered backe to backe, and those in the front and reare make head against the enemy, the one being Commanders in front, the other in reare, therefore it is called Amphistomus. It is of great vse against an enemy strong in Horse and able to giue a hot and dangerous charge, and principally practised against

Cap. 38.
The Phalange Amphistomus



gainst those Barbarians that inhabit about the river Ister, whom they also call Amhipphi, because they change their Horse in fight. The Horse battaile to encounter this forme hath a tetragonall shape, being for the purpose diuided into two broad squares (they are called broad squares, that haue the front twice as much as the depth) and those squares are opposed seuerally against the flanks of the foot-battaile.

NOTES.

(1) **T** Here are many kinds of battailes, which being vsfull for a march, are described partly in the former two chapters, partly in this and in the chapters following, whereof some are for ease of the march (as the *induction*) some for fight. Those which are for fight, are either *offensive*, or else *defensive*. Of the *offensive* kinde is the *Cæmbolos* before mentioned, of the *defensive* the *Triphalange* to be opposed against the *Cæmbolos*, and both the *deductions*, which are represented in the two last Chapters: and in this chapter is described another of the *defensive* formes, that is to say the *Phalange Antistomus*; in which although the march be not continued (for it is alwayes taken vp in a stand, to resist a charge of the enemy) yet it is a remedy *defensive* against the sudden attempts of the enemy which is about to charge your reare.

2. *The Phalange Amphistomus.*] The title of this chapter is litigious, and there is a controuersie amongst the learned, which of two names the chapter should beare. *Gaza*, *Gesner*, and *Arcierus*, would haue it inscribed *Antistomus*; *Robertellus*, *Amphistomus*: I haue in the translation followed the opinion of *Robertellus*; my reason was, because of these words in *Ælian*, *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς προσβάλλουσι τοῖς ποταμικοῖς*, they in the beginnings (*ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς*) charge the enemy: which word *ἀρχαῖ*, I haue not read applied to the flanks, and therefore tooke it for *front and reare*, because the one, namely the front is as it were the beginning of the battaile, the other, *viz.* the reare, is the end. In which sense if you take the word, the description must needs agree with the *Amphistomus*, which (the enemy charging both front and reare) with the *file-leaders* and their halfe files as they stand, receiue those that charge the front, with the *bringers-up*, and the other halfe files facing about to the right or left hand, those which charge the reare. But since, vpon better consideration, I thinke there is a fault in the text; and where it is written *ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖς*, it should be corrected and written (as I take it) *ἐν ταῖς ἀκροῖς*. For that *τὰ ἀκρα* signifie the flanks of the battaile. *Julius Pollux* testifieth in these words; *τῶν μαχημένων τὸ ἐμπροσθεν καλεῖται μέτωπον, καὶ ζυγόν καὶ πρόσωπον, τὰ ἐκείρην, ἀκροί, πλευρά, πτέρυξ*. *Jul. Pollux. l. i. c. 10.* *τὸ δεξιὸν καὶ ἐνωτέρω: τὸ δὲ μέσον ὀμφαλὸς; τὸ δὲ βάθος τοῦχος καλεῖται.* The forepart of those that fight, is called the front, the ranks; and the face; the outward parts on each side (*τὰ ἐκείρην, ἀκροί*) the flanks, the wings, the right and the left; the middest the navel; the depth, the parget, or wall. The like doth *Leo* in many places: and as farre as I can read, *τὰ ἀκρα* in the plurall number is generally taken for the flanks; albeit *τὸ ἀκρον* in the singular number I deny not to be vsed for the reare sometimes: as in *Xenophon*, who describing a fight betwixt the *Corycians* and *Lacedemonians*, hath thus; *Mnasippus* (the *Lacedemonian General*) embattailing his army put the enemy that was neere the gates to flight, and followed the chase. They being come neere the wals, turned againe, and threw and cast dart:

ἡ τοῖς ἐσχυρίσιν.
 ἡ ἐπὶ οὐκ ἔστι τῇ
 τοῦ μέγιστου.
 ἡ τὸ ἀκρόν τῆς
 φάλαγγος.

τὸ ἀκρόν τῆς κῆ-
 ρατος. Diodor. sic.
 li. 19. 693.

- 1184. C.
 Suidas vleth
 διὰ τὴν ἄρ' ἵπ' τῇ
 the right wing,
 now the wing
 stretcheth in
 front, from the
 middle section
 to the point of
 the battaile
 Ælian. c. 7.

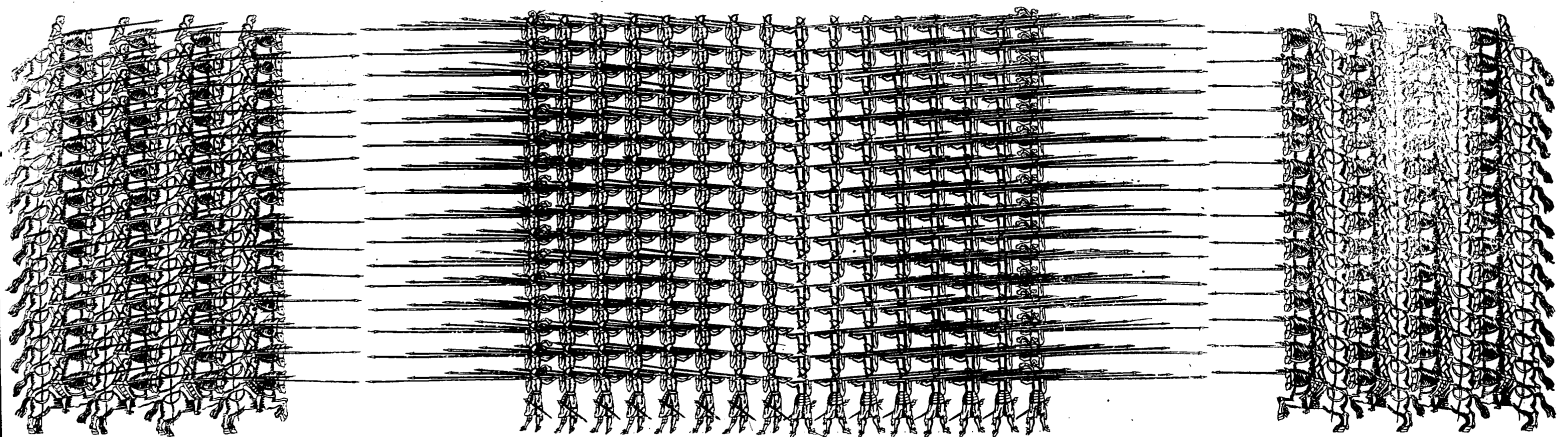
darts from the mountaines: other running out of the other gates in good numbers fell upon the^b reare of the Lacedemonians, who being ordered but^c 8 deep, and thinking the^d reare of the Phalange to be but weake, endeauoured to retire and fall off. The enemy no sooner saw them giue ground, but presently fel on more eagerly, imagining they fled: neither did they turne their faces any more, and they who stood next unto them sought with all speed to saue themselves by flight. Mnasippus could giue no aid to his distressed souldiers by reason hee was hardly laid to by the Corcireans, that came to hands with him; and his number by little and little decreased: at last the enemy in great numbers pressed them sore that stood about Mnasippus, who were now reduced to a very few. And the armed foot of the Citty seeing what was done abroad, issued out, and after they had slaine Mnasippus, they followed the chace all of them together. Thus Xenophon. And thus you may see τὸ ἀκρόν in the singular number taken for the reare of the Phalange, howsoeuer, τὰ ἀκρόν in the plurall, signifieth the flanks. The Antistomus Phalange therefore differing from the Amphistomus in this only, because the last maintaines fight in front and reare, the first in both flanks, and Ælian in this Chapter describing the battel which maintaines the fight in the flanks, it seemeth that the inscription ought to be of the Phalange Antistomus, and that the text ought to be ἐν τοῖς ἀκροῖς and not ἐσχαῖς. It may after a sort appear by Ælian himselfe in the next Chapter, where making a difference betwixt these two battailes, he saith plainly, that the Antistomus fighteth ἐξ ἀκρόν. Read then in the text, Those in the flanks make head against the enemy, in stead of these words: Those in front and reare, and all the rest will agree to the Phalange Antistomus.

3. *It is of great use*] The vse of this battaile is principally against horse, as Ælian giueth to vnderstand; because they are quicke and speedy, and can suddenly turne, diuide themselves, and charge where they list. And the flanks of the battell being the weakest part (for your best men are placed in the front and reare) it is needfull to finde out some meanes to defend them, which is to instruct your Souldiers how to receiue the charge by turning their faces to the flanks. In front you are alwaies ready; because faces and weapons are bent that way. Effect the like in the flanks, and you shall be able to resist any charge of the enemy. For foot, the danger is not so great, because your men shall be able to face euery way, as readily as the enemy; giue them only exercise, and acquaint them with that manner of fight.

4 *And principally practised against the Barbarians.*] That it was much vsed amongst the Grecians I find not in there history: yet is there no doubt, but the vse may be great in it as well as in the Amphistomus. But I take the reason, why it was seldome put in practice, to be, because the flanks of pikes in the Grecian battell were for the most part, garded with horse and light-armed. The front and reare hauing no such defence, were commonly attached by the enemy, seeking all aduantage to distresse them; and in case the horse and light-armed bee absent, the flanks are the fairest marke of the enemy; which can by no other meanes be secured, but by facing that way where he giueth on; which may be evidently seene by the fight Cyrus the elder had against Cræsus, which example you shall see set out in my notes vpon the 46. Chap. page 79.

5. *Those are broad squares*] That which I heere translate a broad square, is in the Greeke Heteromekes; of which forme I haue spoken in notes vpon the 30. Chapter.

Cap. 39.
The Psalange Intestomus
Front



the Art of Embattailing Armies.

39

Wordes of direction for the Phalange Antistomus (for the forme is described in this Chapter.)


1. Halfe ranks, face to the right and left hands.
2. Charge your Pikes.

To restore to the first Posture.

1. Advance your Pikes.
2. Face as you were.

(1) *Of the Phalange Antistomus.*

CHAP. XX XIX.

- (1)  He Phalange Antistomus is like to the Amphistomus, the forme being a little altered; so that it accustometh the Soldier to resist the severall kindes of incursions of horse. All that hath beene spoken of the former Phalange both for foot and horse, agreeth with this figure also. Heerein they differ, that the (2) *Amphistomus* receiveth the charge in front and reare, the Antistomus in flanke: but as well in the one as the other, they fight with long pikes, as doe the Alans, and Sauromatans: and the one halfe of the souldiers in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other halfe backward, so that they stand backe to back. This forme hath two fronts, the one before where the file leaders, the other behinde, where the bringers vp stand; And being also diuided into a (3) *Diphalance*, it maketh the forefront with one, the after-front with the other Phalange.

NOTES.

- (1) **A**S the title of the former Chapter was mistaken, so is the title of this Chapter. The other should haue beene of the *Antistomus* (as I haue before shewed) this of the *Amphistomus*. That it should be of the *Amphistomus*, the very wordes following in this Chapter will proue, which are these: *The one halfe, saith he, of the armed souldiers in the files haue their faces bent forward, the other halfe backward, so that they stand back to backe: and the battell hath two frontes, one before, where the file-leaders, the other behind, where the bringers vp stand.* He describeth the two frontes by the file-leaders and bringers vp, whose proper places are the front and reare, & not the flanks; and further addeth, that halfe the armed souldiers haue their faces bent forward, (and change not) the other halfe turned about backward; whereas in the Antistomus all the souldiers moue, and halfe face to one flanke halfe to the other, and none to the front or reare: besides he saith, that halfe the armed in the files stand backe to backe, whereas in the Antistomus halfe the armed in the ranks stand backe to backe, not those of the files. (2) Now that the Amphistomus receiveth the charge of the enemy in the front and reare ^a Leo also ^b Appian; who recounteth that

^a Leo cap. 7. § 86.

^b App. 1. 2. § 29.

^c App. 1. 2. § 29.

Polyb. lib. 2. 115.
A

Asdruball the Carthaginian sought to entrap Scipio, joining Mago his generall of the horse commandment to charge Scipio his army in front, whilst himselfe charge d it in the reare. But Scipio turning the reare of his battell against Asdruball, and opposing the front of it against Mago, overthrew them both, and slew 5000 Carthaginians, and tooke 1800 prisoners. To make the manner of fight in this forme more plaine, I thought fit to insert an history or two out of Polybius and Arrian, as examples to illustrate that meaning of Ælian. In Polybius this is the history. The Gauls in great multitudes vnder the conduct of Concolitanus and Anercestus their Kings, transcending the Alpes, and passing thorough Lombardy, and falling upon a part of Hetrucia, had gathered rich spoiles out of that territory, and being now upon returne to their country, they were pursued by one of the Roman Consuls L. Æmilius and his army, not with intent to fight with them (for hee held it not safe) but to observe fit times and places to distresse them, or else to keepe them from further spoile. At the same time C. Attilius the other Consul having imbarcked his legions in Sardinia, and setting saile for Italy arrived at Pisa, and holding his way toward Rome marched directly in the way in which the enemy was coming. The Celts being now about Telamon, a promontory of Hetrucia, their foragers fell into the hands of the Panscurers of Attilius, and were taken prisoners; They informed the Consul of all that hapned, and signified the presence of both armies; telling that the Gauls were at hand, and that L. Æmilius followed them close in their reare. Attilius partly marvailling at the strangenesse of the newes, and partly being full of good hope, because the Gauls seemed to be surprised and hemmed in betwixt two armies, commanded the Tribunes to order his legions in a broad front, and so to lead on leisurely, as long as the ground would give leaue: himselfe in good time discovering a hill which hung over the way, in which the Gauls were to passe, tooke with him the horse, and fought with all speed to seise upon the top of it, and to begin the medie, conceiting thereby to haue the honour and title of the whole service ascribed to him: the Gauls were at first ignorant of Attilius approaching, but conjectured onely that it might be Æmilius had led his horse about in the night to seise upon vsuall places: they sent therefore their horse and light-armed to beat the Romans from the hill: but some understanding by some captives that Attilius was there, they presently embattailed, ordering their army into two fronts, the one before, the other behinde; for they knew that one army was following, and they expected as well by the newes they heard, as by that which they saw fall out at that time, that the other would meet them upon their march: Æmilius heard that the legions of Attilius were arrived at Pisa, but could not imagine they were come so neere; but after that by the fight about the hill, he perceived certainly they were at hand, he sent out his horse to second those that fought for the hill, himselfe ordering his battels after the Roman wonted fashion, led on against the enemy. The Celts embattailed those that are called Gesates, and dwelt in the Alpes, against Æmilius, who they imagined would charge the reare, and next to them the Insubrians. In the front they set the Tauriscans and Boyans (inhabiting beyond the river Po) turning their faces a contrary way to the former, and opposed to the access of Caius Attilius, the waines and waggons they placed without both wings, and sent their pray gained to a hill thereby, appointing a sufficient guard to keepe it. So the Amphistomus sphalange, which the Celts cast themselves into, was not onely fearefull to the eye, but also fitly ordered for fight. The Insubrians and Boyans came forth to fight wearing breeches & a kind of loose and light coats; but the Gesates out of a certaine glory and rashnesse cast them away, and stood naked, seeing that they had their armes alone in the front of the battell, imagining they were by that means fitter for action,

by

by reason of the bushes of the place, which would catch hold of any garment, and be a hinderance to the use of armes. The first fight was about the hill in the sight of all, by reason that the multitude of so many horse-men out of both armies were mingled together in fight; wherein it happened Attilius to be slaine (while too venturously he offered himselfe to danger) and his head to be presented to the Kings of the Celts, but yet the Roman horse-men brauely fighting, became masters of the place, and of the enemy: After this the foot joining, the accident was rare and marvellous not onely to them which were present, but also to all those, who can by reading represent before their eyes the truth of that which was done. For first the fight being attacked by 3 armies, it must needs be that the very sight and manner of the conflict appeared strange and without example; secondly, who would not doubt either now or then, whether the Celts manner of embattailing were more dangerous, the enemy charging them in two places at once, or the best and upstart for victory, as opposing against both the enemies at once, and withall securing themselves from encompassing and invasion of the reare: and which is of most importance, no hope being left of safety, if they should chance to be foyled. For that is the property and profit of the Amphistomus battaille; it made the Romans more confident, to haue the enemy enclosed on all sides; and yet the bravery and noise and tumult of the Celts gave them cause of astonishment; For there was an innumerable multitude of Trumpets and Shalmes, to which the whole army together adding the Paan, the cry was so great, that not onely the trumpets and army, but the places round about with their rebounding echoes seemed of themselves to speake. Furthermore, the sight and motion of the naked men that stood in the front, being in flower of their age, and excelling in valnesse of stature, was fearefull. Now all the Gauls that had the front were adorned with bracelets and chaines of gold, which the Romans eyeing, were partly astonied, partly being filled with rich hopes, were incited much the rather to ioyne battell; but when the darters running out of the Roman army according to their custome, threw many and forcible darts at the Celts, the Celts of the reare found good use of their coates and breeches; but those that fought naked in the front, this accident happening contrary to their expectation, were troubled out of measure and wonderfully perplexed: for the Gauls target being not of sufficiency to cover a mans body, the greater and nakeder their bodies were, the more were they subject to wounds, and the lesse the weapons missed the marke. At the last, being not able to save themselves from the light-armed, who plied them a farre off, nor from the multitude of darts that fell amongst them, and being troubled and confused with their present state, some of them out of a rage and brutishnesse ranne vainly upon the enemy, and willingly offered themselves to slaughter, other retiring leisurely to their friends, and shewing manifest tokens of feare, disordered them behinde. Thus the Roman light-armed allaid the pride of the Gesates. But the multitude of the Insubrians, Boyans, and Tauriscans, after the Romans had received their light-armed into their battell, and advanced the cohorts, (of armed) to ioyne hand to hand, maintained a stout fight, and albeit they received many wounds, yet fainted they not in minds, being onely inferior both generally and particularly in the kinde of armes they bore. For both their targets in defence, and their swords in offence, had a great difference; by reason the Gauls sword is onely fit to strike withall. For when the Roman horse from the hill hasted downe in wing, and stoutly came to hantie strokes with them, the foot-men of the Celts were cut in pieces in the places where they fought, and the horse tooke themselves to flight: There dyed therefore of the Celts 30000, and 10000 were take prisoners, amongst whom was Concolitan one of the Kings, the other K. Anercestus, flying to a certaine place with a few killed,

The Tactics of Ælian, or

himself and his friends that were about him. This example hath Polybius of the Amphistomus Phalange; wherein he both sheweth the form, and the vse of it, namely, that it hath a front both waies to receiue the enemies charge before and in the reare. * Arrian hath another example in the battaile between A.

a. Arrian lib. 5. c. 11.

Alexander the Great and Porus a king of India; his words are to this effect; Alexander was now come within the reach of mischievous weapons, when he sent his Archers on horseback against the left wing of the Indians, to molest the enemy on that side, both with multitude of arrows, and with incursion of the horse: and himselfe also having with him the troupes of Companies, spurring on against the same wing, rising all celerity to fall upon them (who were yet out of order and in a wing) before they could reduce themselves into a Phalange. In the meane time the Indians knitting together their whole power of horse, made head against Alexander with all speed, giving their horse a full carriere. Then Canus, as was commanded, shewed himselfe at their backs. The Indians seeing this, were forced to order their horse in an Amphistomus, opposing one part (the most and strongest) to Alexander, the other to Canus and his troupes; which thing troubled the array and mindes of the Indians. And Alexander, taking hold of the opportunity, charged those which were opposed to him in the instant, while the other were facing about to Canus. The Indians endured not the charge, but fled to the Elephants, as to a castle that was friend. Hitherto Arrian. In these two examples is liuely set forth the nature and fashion of the Amphistomus phalange. And albeit both the parties that vsed it were beaten, yet the cause rested not in the forme, but in the valour of them that fought against it, if the Romans in one example, of Alexander in the other; Alexander himselfe vying this very forme in the battel of Gaugamela, obtained the famous victory against Darius, which is described by Arrian in his third book, as did also Scipio against Asdrubal in Spaine: so then by that which hath beene said, the difference betweene the Antistomus and Amphistomus phalange may easily appeare; which albeit they either of them fight against the enemy in two places of the Phalange at once, and are like ore to another in that respect, yet they differ in the places of the fight, the one receiuing the charge in both the flanks, other in front and reare. They are both defensive & statary, and if moue with you either of them during the charge of the enemy, you presently break the form, and lay the backe of the soldiers open to be annoyed, especially if the enemy ouertop you in number: otherwise it will be no inconuenient to diuide the battell, and to fight apart with both; For that the Antistomus may be diuided, Ælian teacheth in the next Chapter: for the Amphistomus, hee saith the like in this Chapter in these words.

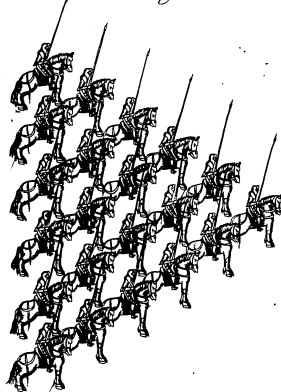
a. Arrian lib. 3. c. 6.
b. Appian panis
Pag. 9.

3 And also being diuided into a Diphilange. A Diphilange is when a Phalange is diuided into two; and being in one body, it is called a Phalange, in two bodies a Diphilange. About the Diphilange Amphistomus there is variance amongst the writers of this Art. Ælian would haue it to bee framed of a Phalange Amphistomus disioyned, and in the middest diuided into two parts: so that the fore-front is made with one of the hinder front with the other Phalange. The Treatise of Military Appellations annexed to the end of Suidas saith, that that is a Diphilange Amphistomus, which hath the file-leaders on the outsidcs of both the flanks in a deduction, and the bringers vp within. I take Ælian to be in the right; for if the Amphistomus Phalange must haue the front and reare opposed to the enemy, what reason is there why the Amphistomus Diphilangy should not be of the same nature, consisting

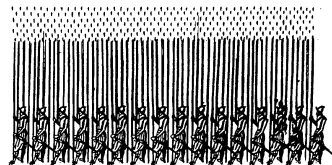
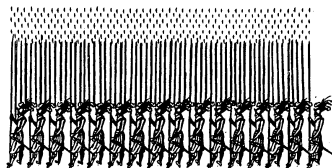
Cap. 40.

A Diphilange Antistomus

The Horsmans Wedge



Front



the Art of Embattailing Armies.

43

dering that the Diphalangy Antistomus hath the leaders, in the flanks, as the Phalange Antistomus hath: which appeareth not only in the next Chapter, but also in diuers other places of this Booke : neither doe I reade any where, that the Antistomus hath to do with the front and reare, nor the Amphistomus with the flanks.

The words of direction in the Amphistomus.

The hinder

- 1 Halfe files, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Charge the Pikes both waies in front and reare.

To restore to the first Posture.

The hindermost

- 1 Aduance your Pikes.
- 2 Halfe files, face as you were.

Of the Diphalange Antistomus.

C H A P. XXXX.



Diphalange Antistomus, is that which hath the file-leaders placed not in a *deduction* outwardly, but inwardly face to face one against another, and the reare-Commanders without, one halfe in right, the other halfe in a left deduction. This forme is vsed against Horse, which giue on and charge wedge-wise: for the wedge shooting forth in a point, and hauing the Commanders following in the flanks, and indeauouring to disseuer and breake the Front of the foot, the Leaders of the foot fore-seeing their purpose, place themselues in the midst, with intent either to repulse them, or else to giue them a thorow passage without losse. For the *wedge* flieth vpon the foote in hope to charge the multitude in the midst; and the foote Commanders conceiuing well the fury of that forme, leaue a little space betwixt the 2 fronts, and stand like walles on both sides, and ioyntly *facing* toward the midst, giue them a fruitlesse and empty passage. This forme of Horse battaile is called by the Tactiks a *wedge*, which was inuented by *Philip* King of Macedony, who placed his best men before, that by them the weaker fort might be held in & enabled to the charge. As we see in a Speare or sword, the point whereof quickly piercing, makes way for, and letteth in the middle blunt yron.

NOTES.

A *Diphalange Antistomus.*] This Diphalange is thus defined by *Suidas*; *Suidas*, in *A Diphalange Antistomus* is that, which hath the file-leaders placed in the midst, and the bringers vp ordered without on both flanks in deductions: which words differ a little in speech, in sence are all one with *Eliaus*. They both agree that the file-leaders should be placed within the midst of the battaile face to face in deductions, the bringers vp on the flanks without. In the text, and in fashioning of the battaile, there is no difficulty. The file-leaders must be placed

placed in the midst within, the bringers vp on the flanks without; and the battaile being first closed, must be suddenly opened vpon the charge of the Horse in the midst, and the file-leaders diuiding themselves halfe on one side, halfe on the other, and facing to the middle space with their whole files push at the Horse with their Pikes, as they passe thorow. It is called a Diphallange, because the phallange is parted in two; as the battaile opposed against the Cælembolos is named a Triphallange, because it consisteth of three parts severall, and in the ninth Chapter the whole Macedonian phallange is named a Tetraphallangarchy, because the body is diuided into foure severall parts: and it is named a Diphallange Antistomus, because as the Phallange Antistomus receiue the Horse without in the flanks, and so repulseth them, so this altering that forme, onely by placing the file-leaders in depth within, and opening vpon the sudden receiue the Horse in the opened void space, either to be ouerthrowne by their Pikes, or else to giue them a passage without danger to themselves. This is one of the defensive battailes whereof I spake before. It is put in practice faith Ælian

When the Horse charge Wedge-wise. What a Wedge is, and of what force amongst the Horse-battailes, I haue noted vpon the 18 Chapter. Against it Ælian opposeth this forme of foot. But is there no other vse of it? Yes. For both the Cælembolos and Peristomus are as it were daughters, and proceed out of the loynes of this forme, both hauing their file-leaders in *deductions* within the body, and both opening, the first the front, the other the whole body, when they goe to charge; and yet the Diphallange Antistomus is defensive, the other two offensive formes. I will accordingly as I haue begun, illustrate the manner of the Dephallange Antistomus with an example or two. * Xenophon describing the fight that was betweene Artaxerxes the king of Persia and Cyrus the younger, telleth of Tissaphernes (one of the foure Generals of Artaxerxes his army, that he fled not in the first ioyning of the armies, but brake thorow the Grecian Peltasts (targetiers) that stood embattailed by the river. Breaking thorough, he slew no man: for the Grecians opening their battell, strooke and threw darts at his horsemen, as they passed thorough. Episthenes the Amphipolita, who held the estimation of an understanding souldier, was then commander of the Peltasts. Tissaphernes therfore withdrawing himselfe as one that had the worst, returned no more to fight, but going to the Grecian Campe, met the King there. So Xenophon. Out of which passage wee may perceiue the vse of this manner of embattailing. Tissaphernes chose out the Grecians to charge the Peltasts the weakest kind of souldiers to make resistance against the horse, by reason they were furnished with small targets onely and darts. Then hee chargeth with his horse in a full Carrere: to auoide the fury of the horse, they opened and gaue him a free passage, but not without stroakes, and darts sent at his horse; and so made his charge more hurtfull to himselfe then vnto them: I cannot say the file-leaders were here in the midst, as Ælian requirerh, because the charge was sudden and vnexpected. In premeditated defences, there is no doubt, but it is the better way to place the file-leaders in the midst, considering they are accounted the strength of the battell, and in all conueniences are first brought to fight, especially being armed men, and able to offend the horse with their Pikes; This opening then auailed against the giuing on of horse ordered in a narrow front: for that was the manner of ordering the Persian horse; and it may serue for any horse-battaile if it bee wide

* Xenophon de re-
pud. lib. 1. c. 270. D

wide enough to receiue the horse within the front. Of ancient time sythed Chariots were in request, to which the foot whether light or armed could make small resistance; they had two long staves appointed with sharpe iron fastened to the beame of the chariot bearing out before, and sythes standing out on all sides to cut asunder whatsoever came in the way: the horse were armed, and hardly to be wounded, as you may see in the figure of the 22 Chapter. The remedy then against them was to open the battaile in front and reare, to the end to let them passe thorough, which opening was after the manner set downe in this Chapter. * Alexander at Gaugamela being to fight with Darius, who had many of this kinde of chariots, and fearing the danger they might bring to his army, commanded his Phallange of foot, that when the Chariots approached they should knit themselves shoulder to shoulder, and beat their pikes vpon their targets, that the horse being affrighted with the noise, might turne, and run the contrary way. But if by such means they would not be repressed, then he willed them to open and make wide distances, thorow which they might hold on their course without danger to his people. This was the prouision of Alexander against the Chariots: The event followes. After the trumpets had giuen the signe of bataile, the armies charged one another casting forth great cries: And first the sythed Chariots flying out amaine, gaue much amazement and terrour to the Macedonians. For Mazæus one of the Generals of Darius his horse, to the end to make the falling on of the horse more terrible, came thundering with his troups of horse in the reare of the chariots: But when the Phallange ioyned target to target, and euery man beat his target according to the Kings direction, there arose a great noise; by reason whereof many of the chariots, the horses being affrighted, turned backe, and with vnresistable violence rushed vpon their owne people: other falling vpon the Macedonians, who made large distances, those which entered were partly ouerwhelmed with darts, partly passed quett thorough; some being carried with the violence of their course, and working mightily with their sharpe sythes, brought with them many and sundry kinds of death: for the force of their sythes had such power to destroy, that from many it cut off the armes, and targets and all, the necks of not a few were carued, heads falling to the ground the eyes yet seeing, the countenance not altered; of some the it tore out the sides, and put them to a speedy death. Hitherto of the history of Diodorus. But where he noteth the harms, that came from the sythed chariots, I take it they might haue beene auoied, if the distances had beene wide enough, because I finde in Xenophon in the battaile betwixt Artaxerxes and Cyrus mentioned by me before, that many of the chariots of the Persians ranne thorough the Phallange of the Grecians without hurt to any man. To returne then to the vse of this forme, it hath heeretofore, and may at this day bee put in practice against horse; and not onely against horse ordered in a wedge, but also giuing on in a square, if it be so they charge by troopes, and the opening be wide enough, and sudden to receiue the front of the horse. For against a grosse of horse, they cannot haue time to open wide enough; and if they open too timely, they leaue liberty to the horse to charge either of the parts opened, as themselves shall please; and by diuiding themselves, they diminish their owne strength.

* Died. Sic. lib. 17.
192.
Ælian. lib. 3. c. 63. D
Curt. 4. 1. 141. 149.

Words of direction for the Diphalance Antistomus.

1 Wheele the wings into the middest of the battaile

2 Face to the Front.

3 Open your battaile.

4 Face to the middest.

5 Charge your Pikes.

This is done if the middlemost 2 file-leaders stand firme, & the rest with their files wheele till they meet, and then stand: the face to the front; and when the Horse charge, open themiddest suddenly, and facing one against another, charge your Pikes against the Horse.

Restoring to the first Posture.

1 Aduance your Pikes.

2 Close your battaile.

3 Face to the right and left hand.

4 Wheele the middest of the battaile to the wings.

5 Face as you were at first and stand.

of the Peristomus Diphalance.

CHAP. XXXXI.



THE Phalange of the Diphalance Peristomus proceede by deduction in a wing, the oblique deduction on the right hand, hauing the file-leaders without: the left hand oblique deduction, hauing the reare-commanders within. The figure sheweth the intent of them that fight so ordered: For the battaile going to charge, hauing beene at first Tetragonall, diuideth it selfe into two oblique wings, the right and the left, of purpose to enclose the aduerser square battaile; and they fearing to be enclosed, transforme themselues into two marching Phalanges, directing one against the right, the other against the left wing: therefore is it called Peristomus, as hauing the front bent against the enemy both wayes.

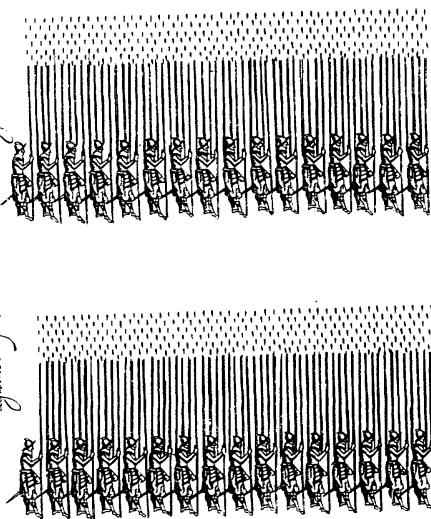
NOTES.

(1) ABOUT the inscription of this Chapter also there is a controuersie amongst the Interpreters; some would haue it of the *Peristomus diphalance*, some of the *Amphistomus Diphalance*, and of the *Peristomus*. Why any man should imagine that the *Amphistomus Diphalance* is here described, I conceiue

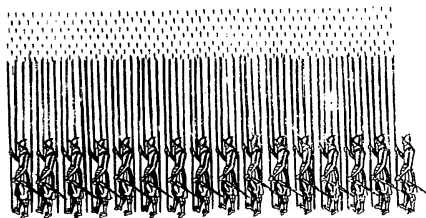
Cap. 43.

The Diphalarge Peristomus

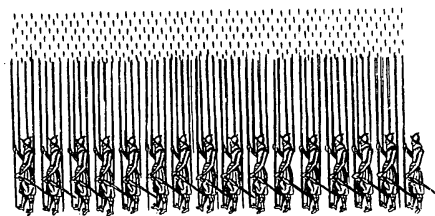
The square divided in two and set
against y Peristomus two wings



The mean front of y^e
Peristomus



The left wing of y^e Peristomus



The right wing of y^e Peristomus

conceiue not, vnlesse he should seeme to make *Ælian* contrary to himselfe. For the Amphistomus Diphalance hath nothing to doe with the flanks, as appeareth by *Ælian* in the 34 Chapter. This Diphalance fighteth altogether in flanke, as the description declareth.

The Phalanges of the Diphalance Peristomus.] What a *wing* is, and what *deduction* I haue shewed before. The meaning is, that the Phalanges Peristomus are both of them led obliquely (with the file-leaders in flanke) and in two deepe bodies; whereof the one hath in purpose to charge the right flanke, the other the left flanke of the aduerse square battaile.

2 *The oblique deduction on the right hand.*] Albeit both these Phalanges are called oblique, yet we may not imagine, that these Loxe-phalanges are the same that is described in the 30 Chapter. For in that one of the Phalange forbear the fight, the other aduanceth to ioyne with the enemy; in this both fight at once, and haue their aduantage by charging the flanks of the enemy. That began the fight in front & had there the file-leaders, this in both flanks; this seeks to encompassse, that to auoid encompassing it selfe, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the same Chapter.

3 *The oblique deduction on the right-hand, hauing the file-leaders without.*] I must imagine, till further information, that here is a fault in the text: my reason is this; all *deductions* are made to oppose the file-leaders against the enemy in fight. So is the right-hand *deduction* vsed, when it is suspected the enemy will charge the right-hand flanke: the left-hand *Deduction*, when it is suspected he will charge the left; so in wheelings we turne the front against the enemy, so in countermarches. Now this forme being inuented to encompassse the enemy, and to fight vpon his flanks, I would thinke the file-leaders ought to be placed on the inward flanks of the Diphalance; as it is in the *Cælembolos*; for were the bringers vp to be within, they should sustaine all the weight of the fight, the battaile being once diuided, and the file-leaders standing without should idly looke on, which is contrary to the military discipline of the Grecians, whose care was to vse the file-leaders in fight as much as was possible. Neither is it thereupon to be concluded, that this Diphalance and the Diphalance Antistomus are all one. For although both haue their file-leaders within, yet doe they differ both in forme and end. In forme, because this moueth forward with both Phalanges, the other standeth still: this is oblique, the other in a streight line; that hath the front of the two phalanges euen, this (as it falleth out in the motion) sometimes the one more forward, sometimes the other. In their ends, because this goeth to assault and to breake the enemies battaile, the other standeth fast and seekes onely to saue it selfe; the one being offensive, the other defensive. So that, as I said before, the *Cælembolos* and this are both framed out of the Diphalance Antistomus, both hauing their file-leaders within the midst of the battaile; and yet differ in that the *Cælembolos* is but one body hollowed within; this diuided into two bodies.

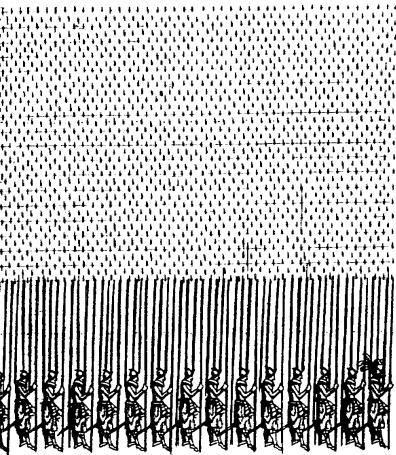
And they feare to be enclosed.] The case of this square is almost all one with the square against which the *Cælembolos* is opposed: For both are in danger to be enclosed. Now as the other square was faine to cast it selfe into a *Triphalance*, and to oppose two of the *phalanges* against the two wings of the *Cælembolos*, reseruing the third for all accidents; so this square diuideth it selfe into two *phalanges* (but hath no third) setting the one against the right-

Arr. l. 5. III. C.
Died. Sic. l. 609.

right-hand battaile of the Peristomus, the other against the left; for by this opposition they inhibit the enemy from attaching their flanks. Of this forme I finde not many *presidents* in the Greeke history; I will receite one-ly one out of *Arrian* concerning *Alexander*, which if it hit not this forme in euery point, yet it hath fully the effect of that which is intended by *Ælian*: *Alexander* being to deliuer battaile to *Porus* a King of part of India, lying on the other side of the riuer *Hydaspes*, found his enemies army to be thus embattailed; He had placed his Elephants in the front 100 foot distant one from another; and he placed them there to giue terror to *Alexanders* Horse. for he imagined that no enemy durst approach the spaces betwixt the Elephants, neither with Horse for feare of the Elephants, and much lesse with foot, because the armed on his side were there to receiue them, and the Elephants would tread and trample them under their feet. Next he ordered the foot, not in an equall front with the beasts, but in a second front after them, so that the files came vp almost to the spaces betwixt the Elephants; besides, he added foot upon the wings about the Elephants. On both the wings of the foot he ordered his Horse, and before them his Chariots. This was the embattailing of *Porus*. *Alexander* as soone as he saw the Indians stand in battaile array, caused his Horse to make alte, that he might haue his foot come vp, who aduanced still forward. And when the Phalange was come vnto him running he embattailed it not presently, nor forthwith led it against the enemy, lest he should deliuer it weary and out of breath into the hands of the Barbarians, that were fresh; but circling and riding here and there in rounds with his Horse, he rested his foot, and gaue them time to refresh themselves. And after he beheld the Indian manner of Embattailing, hee thought it not good to giue vpon the mid left (of the front) where the Elephants stood, and the Phalange was close ordered against the spaces of the Elephants, fearing the reasons that led *Porus* to embattaille in that forme. But, as he was stronger in horse, taking to him the most of his Horse, he speeded to the left wing of the enemy, in purpose to giue on there, and sent *Cœnus* with *Demetrius* his troope and his owne troope against the right wing; commanding him, that when the Barbarians seeing his troopes, should turue their strength of Horse against him, *Cœnus* should inuade their backs. He gaue the Phalange to *Seleucus*, *Antigones* and *Tauron* to lead; commanding them not to fall on, before they saw the enemies foot and horse put into a bransle by his Horse. What the euent of the fight was, I haue before shewed in my notes vpon the Phalange *Amphistomus*, where I haue cited the latter end of this history. Now may be seene by this example, that *Alexander* began the fight not in the front, but in the flanks; and the cause why he did it, was, because the front was exceeding strong by reason of the Elephants. And by this meanes defeating first the enemies Horse, then his foot, he left the Elephants naked, and without defence against the darts and other missiue weapons of the Macedonians, and gained a worthy victory against a strong enemy. Now albeit this example come not home in all points to the *Peristomus* (for *Ælian* limiteth it to foot against foot, this fight was betwixt Horse and Horse) yet is the reason of warre alike in both. For as the file-leaders of the *Peristomus* giue on vpon the flanke of the aduerse square, which is the weakest part of it; so did the Horse of *Alexander* surmounting the Indians both in number and valor, giue on vpon the flanks of *Porus* his army which was weakest, and so began and ended the victory.

[It is called *Peristomus*, as hauing the front bent.] That is, being diuided into halfe, the one Phalange marching obliquely, commeth vp and chargerth one flanke

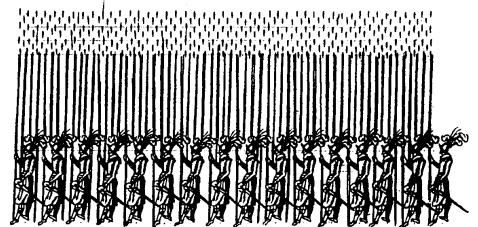
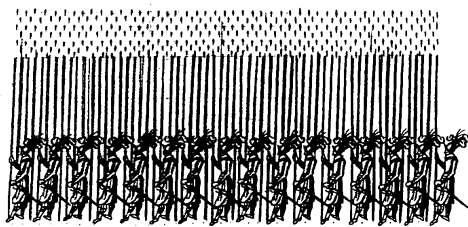
The Barrow called Plinthium



Cap. 42.

The Diphalange Homoiostomus

The front



flanke of the aduerse battaille, the other chargeth the other, and so hath the fronts against the enemies both waies.

Words of direction in the Peristomus.

- 1 Wheele your front into the midst of the battaille.
- 2 Face to the front.
- 3 One wing march out obliquely, and charge the right flanke of the enemy, the other the left flanke.

Of the Diphalance homoiostomus, and of the Plinthium.

CHAP. XLII.



Diphalance (1) Homoiostomus is so named, because a (2) whole file (that is 16 men) moving by it selfe; another file followeth it; and it is therefore called Homoiostomus, because they that follow, follow in a like figure.

3 This kind is opposed against the Plinthium; (4) Plinthium is a forme of battaille, that hath the sides equall both in figure and number. In figure, because the distances are euery where equall. In number, because there are as many men in length as in depth. (5) In this foure-sided battaille are none in the foure sides but armed, without archer or slinger to helpe: when therefore two Phalanges march together, and both haue their leaders in a right-hand or left-handed deduction, it is called a Diphalance Homoiostomus.

NOTES.

1 Homoiostomus is a Diphalance, the battailes whereof haue like fronts. To this forme is incident, first that it be marching, then that it march in deductions; lastly, that the deductions be vpon one and the selfe, and not vpon contrary sides, viz. that the file-leaders of the Phalanges, be all of them either vpon the right hand, or vpon the left hand of their Phalanges. And therefore *Suidas* defineth it to be a Diphalance, which hath the leaders of either Phalange ordered in the same side of the march. Where he saith that the leaders are ordered on the same side in both Phalanges (which words are likewise in *Ælian* in the end of the Chapter) wee must vnderstand not the leaders of the March, but the file-leaders, who are also called *hypagores*, or leaders: For as *Ælian* saith elsewhere, the march in a Deduction proceedeth in wing not by file but by ranke, so that the file-leaders are in the flanks not in the front of the march; and yet a man may truly tearme it the front of the battaille, as long as it standeth and faceth against the enemy.

2 Because a whole file. I am out of doubt that this place is corrupted: any man that marketh the coherence will easily be of mine opinion. The inscription is of a Diphalance, which consisteth of two phalanges. The cause why this forme is called a Diphalance, Homoiostomus, is in these words assigned to be, because a whole file, that is, 16 men moving, another file followeth it.

Di. d. Sy. u. lib. 16.
Pl. 34.

the father of Alexander the Great, being to take armes against the Illyrians who invaded many Cities of his kingdom, leaved 10000 foot, & 600 horse, and with them entered the enemies country. Bardilis the Illyrian King met him with as many foot, and 500 horse: when the armies came together, and with shouts ioynded battaile, Philip hearing the right wing, and the best Macedonian souldiers, commanded the horse to fall on and charge the enemy in flanke: himselfe giving upon the front, began a strong fight. The Illyrians ordering themselves into a Plinthium, valiantly abode the onsets; and at the first, the fight was equal, and so continued a good while, by reason of the valour of each on both sides; afterwards the horse flying hard the reere and flanks, and Philip with his chariots valiantly laying at the front, the multitude of the Illyrians were forced to fly. Hence the Plinthium resisted both horse and foot; I will add one example more of repelling horse, the army being cast into a Plinthium, Marcus Antonius seeking to subdue Persia, and to reuerge the losse which Cræsus received by the Parthians, (for in that warre Cræsus himselfe was slaine, and his army defeated) and having laid siege to a great City called Phreata, and finding not the success he looked for, determined to dis-march and lead his arm, out of the Countrey shewing first an ad. vance with the King of Persia, proceeding on his journey, he was stopped by the Parthians; but being repulsed, they ret. ved that day. ANTONIUS hereby resolved what to doe: and strengthening his reere and flanks with many darters & slingers, he formed his army into a Plinthium, and willed his horse to fall out and repulse the enemy, but not to follow the chase too farre. The Parthians the next fore day began to be more cool, and neither charged nor were charged, and making winter their presence, were glad to retire to their houses. By this president, we may see, that the Parthians (who were mighty in horse) were fierce upon the Romans as long as they held their ordinary kinde of march, but after they had ordered themselves into a Plinthium, so that the Parthians could not come up to them without much endangering themselves, they thought it best to let them quietly passe and goe whither they would. And thus much of the Di-phalange Homoiostonus and of the Plinthium.

Words of direction in the Homoiostonus.

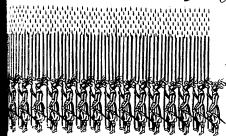
- 1 Wheele your battailes (if they stand in euen front) to the right or left hand.
- 2 March one battaile after the other.

To restore to the first Posture.

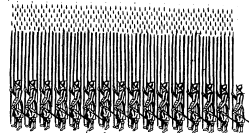
- 1 Face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 Wheele the battailes to the right or left hand, according as the case requireth.
- 3 Face as you were at first.

Cap. 43.

The Di-phalange Heterostonus

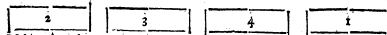


The File leaders



The bringers up

For the Plinthium.



If there be 4 battalies standing together in an even Front, this I would hold the fittest way to make a Plinthium.

1 Let the first battaile stand firme, or march on, in going forward wheele to the right hand; in falling backe vie the Lacedemonian countermarch.

2 The 3 countermarch the front with a countermarch, then wheel to the left hand, then march forward, and place it selfe behind the right hand flanke of the first, that the Front of it may be in a right line with the said flanke.

3 The 4 in going forward, countermarch the reare with a Macedon countermarch, then wheele your battaile to the right hand, face about; then wheele to the left hand; then march and apply it selfe to the point of the first battaile, as the third did to the right; then face about, and stand thus:

4 The 2 countermarch to the right or left hand; then march on til it be beyond the left point of the 4 battaile; then face to the left hand; and march vp to lay the right-hand-point eue with the right point of the 1 battaile, and face to the right hand, to make the reare of the Plinthium thus:

The feuerall bodies being brought into a Plinthium, must front euery way as long as they make Alte. When they march in a Plinthium, they are all to face toward the head of their march: that is, the right and left flanke battalies are to face the one to the left, the other to the right hand: The reare battaile is to face about to which hand it list, and so march on.

The battalies beside haue euery one their place of dignity: the first battaile hauing the front, the 2 battaile the reare, the 3 battaile the right flanke, the 4 the left flanke.

Front.



Front.



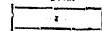
Front.



Front.

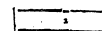
Front.

Front.



Front.

Front.



Front.

Of the Diphallange Heterostomus.

CHAP. XLIII.

(1) **Diphallange Heterostomus** is that which proceedeth by deduction, hauing the leaders of the former Phalange in a right-hand Deduction, and of the following Phalange in a left-hand Deduction, so that the battalies march counterchangeably, one hauing the leaders in one flanke, the other in the other.

NOTES.

1 **Diphallange Heterostomus.** As the Homoiostomus consisted of two Phalanges, & both proceeded by deduction, so must this forme. They dif-

The Tatticks of Ælian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure, These of this form is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Ælian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former: and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Etides, this orme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphalange Antitonus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the midst.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIII.

(1) He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Ileon the Thessalian, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Capitaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the midst to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men whereof are called Acrobolists, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

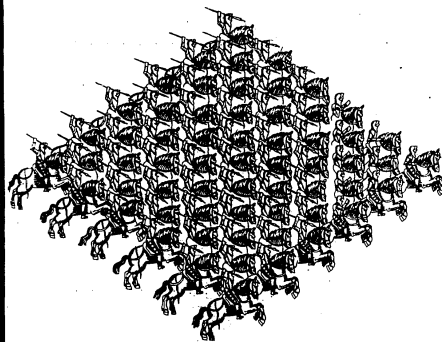
NOTES.

THe battaile in forme of a Rhombe. Of the Rhombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

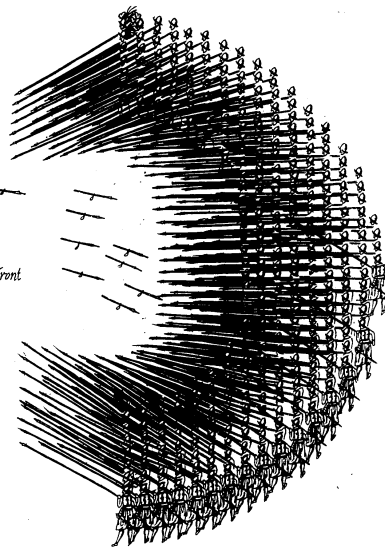
Cap. 44.

The half Moone or Menoides of Iate

The Rombe of Horse



The Front



lians used not all those kinds but onely that which fileth, but ranks not, as *Alian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Theſſalians got all there reputation, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece.

2 The foot battaile *fileth to encounter this* The advantage that horse-men have against foot is great, which is the cause that foot-men have sought to helpe themselves by divers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strength. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Alian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you have the Phalange Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthum to resist: If but one troope, the Diphalange Antistomus; All which kinds are before described by *Alian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone. and there follow in other Chapters the *plagiophalange*, the *Epicampios emprothia*, and the *wedge*: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembered by our Authours.

3 *Is the Menocides or Cressant.* Against the Rhombe of horse *Alian* opposeth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *menos* is the moone, and the word *ides* (which is ioyned to make vp the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were: In which sence *Isis* the Egyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diodorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which she maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians having their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diodorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnasseans against *Alexander* the Great, and *Arrian* giueth it the name *menocides*; a brick halfe moon; the cause of the invention of this forme, is laide out by *Onosander* & *Leo*. Oftentimes saith *Onosander*, those that have great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy will be ready to ioyne man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed; in doing whereof, they will be hemmed and wraped in, in the halfe Circle. the wings of the halfe Circle being to be drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firme; for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollownesse of the Circle, by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides and crusheth a ore courage to fight against them. The causes then to take vp this figure in fight are three; one the advantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass; another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone; the third, the easie of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene used both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Nauy against another, *Alian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge; and are resisted both in front, and plyed also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater

The Tacticks of Ælian, or


fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. These of this form is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Ælian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former: and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alte when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Besides, this orme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphallange Antistomus, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the middest.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIII.

- (1)  He battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by *Ileon the Thessalian*, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Captaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) *Menoides* or *Cressent*; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the middest to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the *Tarantines*, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. *Tarentum* is a City in Italy, the horse-men wherof are called *Acrobolists*, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

Darters.

NOTES.

THe battaile in forme of a *Rhombe*.] Of the *Rhombe* is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

The Tatticks of Ælian, or

fer in this onely, that the first had all the file-leaders on one side, either on the right or left; this the file-leaders of one battaile on the right, of the other on the left hand. For if the leading Phalange haue the file-leaders on the right-hand, the following Phalange shall haue them on the left: If the first haue them on the left, the other shall haue them on the right. See the figure. The vse of this form is, when the enemy sheweth himselfe on both flanks of our march, and of it the double sided battaile, whereof Ælian spake in the 36 and 37 Chapters, may be made by the sleeuing vp the latter to the former. and ioyning reare to reare: and if the leading battaile haue the file-leaders in the right-flank, it is to make alie when the enemy commeth neer, and the following battaile to sleeue vp by the reare of it, to make an euen front with the leaders of the first. Contrariwise, if it haue the file-leaders on the left hand: Felides, this orme hath further vse, and you may frame of it a Diphallange Antitomos, by sleeuing vp the following battaile on that side where the file-leaders of the leading battaile march: for by such sleeuing, the file-leaders of both Phalanges shall be in the midst.

Words of direction in the Heterostomus.

There need few words of direction in this, onely if the two ordinary battailes stand in equall front, let the one wheele to the right, the other to the left hand, and so march the one before, the other after.

Of the horse Rombe, and of the foot-halfe-moone
to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIIII.

(1) **T**he battaile framed in a forme of a Rombe, was first inuented by Ileon the Thessalian, and was called *Ile* after his name; and to this forme he exercised and accustomed his Thessalians. It is of good vse, because it hath a leader on euery corner: in the front the Capitaine, in the reare the Lieutenant, and on either side the flank-commanders. (2) The foot battaile fittest to encounter this, is the (3) Menoides or Crescent; hauing both the wings stretched out, and within them the leaders, and being embowed in the midst to enuiron and wrap in the horse-men in their giuing on: whereupon the horse-men ply the foot a farre off with flying weapons, after the manner of the Tarantines, seeking thereby to dissolue and disorder their circled frame of march. Tarentum is a City in Italy, the horse-men whereof are called Acrobolits, because in charging they first cast little darts, and after come to hands with the enemy.

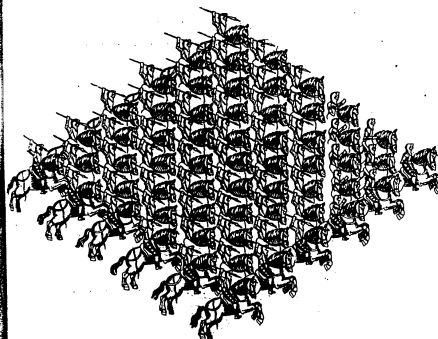
NOTES.

The battaile in forme of a Rombe. Of the Rombe is sufficiently spoken in Chap. 6. before; and in the notes vpon the same Chapter: The manner of framing of it, and the diuers kinds thereof are there set down. The Thessalians

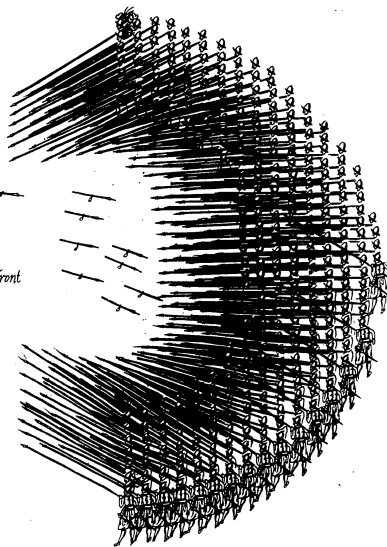
Cap. 44.

The half Moone or Menoides of foot

The Rombe of Horse



The Front



lians vsed not all those kinds but onely that which sleth, but ranks not, as *Ælian* testifieth in the 46 Chapter, which kinde is there also described. It was accounted a forme of great violence, & in that forme the Theſſalians got all there reputation, being esteemed the best horse-men of Greece. Ælian c. 46.

2 The foot battaile first to encounter this.] The aduantage that horse-men haue against foot is great, which is the cause that foot-men haue sought to helpe themselves by diuers kind of embattailing to the end to supply by art, that which they want by force and strength. Of which manner of embattailings, many are set down in *Ælian*. If more then one troope charge at once, you haue the Phalange, Amphistomus, Antistomus, and the Plinthium to resist: If but one troope, the Diphallange Antistomus; All which kinds are before described by *Ælian*. In this Chapter is another kind described namely, the halfe moone. and there follow in other Chapters the plagiophalange, the Epicampios emprothia, and the wedge: Of all which we are to discourse in order as they are remembered by our Authours.

3 Is the Menocids or Cressant.] Against the Rhombe of horse *Ælian* opposeth the Menocides of foot, a name of battaile borrowed from the shape of the moone. For *μηνις* is the moone, and the word *ειδος* (which is ioyned to make vp the composition) signifieth a full shape or forme. So the word importeth a shape or forme of the moon: and yet this battaile is not like all shapes of the moone, but like to the new moone when she hath two hornes, and hath the shape of halfe a circle as it were: In which sence *Isis* the Egyptian goddesse (which indeed was the moone, saith *Diadorus Siculus*) was pictured with two hornes from the shew which she maketh being menocides, that is, the new moone, so is a wall sometime called, because of the hollow forme. As when the Rhodians hauing their wall shrewdly shaken by the engines of battery of *Demetrius*, reared an inward wall in shape of a Cressant, which with the compasse, comprehended all the parts of the outward wal which were battered. The same *Diadorus* calleth it Menocides: the like was don by the Halicarnasseans against *Alexander* the Great, and *Arrian* giueth it the name *μηνις* a brick halfe moon; the cause of the inuention of this forme, is laide out by *Onosander* & *Leo*. Oftentimes saith *Onosander* those that haue great numbers of men in the field, are wont to figure them into a Cressant, supposing that in charging the enemy will be ready to ioine man to man, that is, to enter into the semi-circle and fight with them that stand enbowed; in doing whereof, they will be hemmed and wraped in in the halfe Circle. the wings of the halfe Circle being to bee drawne together round about them, and the whole brought into the forme of a Circle. And *Leo* likewise: The figure bearing the resemblance of halfe a Circle, seemeth to be safe & firme; for it incloseth the enemy that cometh against it in the hollow-nesse of the Circle by drawing out the wings into a Circle on both sides, and giueth a ore courage to fight against them. The causes then to take vp this figure in fight are three; one the aduantage of multitude of forces in the field, whereby the Generall is enabled to encompass; another, the ignorance of the enemy, that ventureth within the compasse of the halfe moone; the third, the efficacy of the figure which serueth to entrap the enemy that is not heedfull and wary in ioyning battaile. It hath bene vsed both against Horse and foot, and sometimes in Sea by one Nauy against another, *Ælian* esteemeth it good against horse; no doubt when horse charge; and are resisted both in front, and plyed also with flying weapons in flanke, they finde a greater;

opposition and disadvantage, then when they are received in front alone. In square battailes of foot the front lying even, the horse in charging abide only the danger before, whereas in the hollow fronted battailes of foot, such as are this form, and the *Epicampios* emprosthia, they are endangered also in flanke, yea in both flanks, & cannot enter the hollownesse of the front without losse of many of their horse, the depth of the hollownes being as strong (in having the file-leaders in front, and the depth of the file the same) as a square battaile to resist, and the wings plying and infelting them with all sorts of flying weapons: against foot it hath bene used oftentimes, and it is the only forme that the Turks by reason of his multitudes, yseth both with horse and foot against Christians at this day.

The *Cressant* may be framed not onely before fight is begun, but also in the heat of fight: Before the fight, you have an example of the *Lacedemonians* against *Epaminondas*, which I have cited at large in my notes vpon the 30 Chap. ^c Leo also setch downe the manner of casting a Navy into a *Cressant* before fight. During the fight, *Aratus* the elder framed a *Cressant* against the *Lacedemonians*: *Pausanias* reciteth it in this manner; In the battaile of the *Lacedemonians* against the *Mantineans*, The *Mantineans*, saith he, had the right wing, all the rest of the *Arcadians* the left. The middlest was assigned to *Aratus*, and to the *Sicyonians*, and *Acheans*. *Agis* King of *Lacedemon*, and the *Lacedemonians* stretched out their battaile to invade the front of the enemy. *Agis* and his troopes stood in the middlest. *Aratus* after he had imparted his purpose to the *Arcadians*: fled him selfe, and with him that part of the army which he commanded, as if he feared the impression of the *Lacedemonians*; in giuing backe hee brought the army into the forme of an half moone. The *Lacedemonians* and *Agis* thinking they had the victory in their hands, pursued *Aratus* and his troopes more eagerly. The wing followed the King, esteeming it no small conquest to haue soyled *Aratus*. In the meane time they perceiued not the *Arcadians* that were at their backe: and the *Lacedemonians* being encompassed round about, lost both many other of their army, and *Agis* also their King, the sonne of *Eudamidas* was slaine. Leo also in sea-fight giueth his Generall counsell how to entrap his enemy with a shew of flight; in giuing backe with fashioning an half moone: These be his words in effect; ^c If a Generall be to retire before the enemies Navy, let him retire, fashioning his Navy into a battaile *Menocides*, and sailing with his pouspes forward, and so seeme to shunne the enemy: For if he flye not, but retire fighting, hee shall haue his ships ready to turne vpon the enemy with their prowes bent against him. And if need require, he may retire with his pouspes toward the enemy: for the enemy shall not dare to enter into the hollownesse for feare of being encompassed. So Leo. The *Menocides* therefore may be framed during fight; but this caution is to be remembered, that in sudden transmutations of battailes, you vse not the seruice of raw souldiers, but of such as haue experience, lest all be brought into confusion, and the enemy charge you while you are changing your forme. Now as formes of advantage are to be fought against the enemy; so is it needfull to aduise what best opposition is to be made against such battailes: in case the enemy vse them. The *Rombe* of horse was of old time accounted a forcible figure against foot; the horse therein had the better. The *Menocides* was inuented to resist and ouerthrow the horse: The foot had bene the better; what was then best for the horse: to abstaine from charging (saith *Ælian*) and to ply the foot with miserie weapons, to the end to force them to breake

their strong forme of embattailing. So now they stand vpon equal teames and the foot can with their shot annoy the horse, as well as the horse can annoy the foot. *Ælian* then sheweth a meanes for the horse to auoide the danger of this manner of embattailing: for foot vsing this forme against foot, hee sheweth no remedy. I will set downe what I finde: and here I neede not to repeat the remedy, that *Epaminondas* vsed against the *Lacedemonian* half-moone: it is related at large in my Notes vpon the 30 Chap. ^c *Onofander* giueth this aduise: Divide your battaile, saith hee, into 3 parts: with the two outward charge the Enemies wings: the third, that is ordered against the middle, and as it were, the bosome of the *Cressant*, aduance it not, but let it stand firme; for either they that are placed in the middlest of the *Cressant*, shall stand idle; or else aduancing in an even front, will throng one another and breake their battaile. For the two fronts fighting in the wings and keeping their place, it is not possible for the half circle to come forward with an even front: when they are therefore confused and haue brooke their array, let the third battaile that remained in the middlest for seconds, charge them, as they disorderly aduance. If they still keep their place in the bottom of the hollownesse, oppose the light-armed and darters against them, who will exceedingly disresse them with their miserie weapons: likewise you may doe well to frame a *Loxe-phalange* of your whole Army, and with your two *Loxes*, charge the wings, preventing so the circling and encompassing of the *Menocides*. For the Enemy, being a long while hindered from coming to blowes with his whole Army, shall bee kept in play with a few, none fighting but those onely that are in the wings, which first of necessity must ioyne, because of the oblique onser. It will not bee a misse also, surely to retire with the Army sometimes, as though you were in feare; or else facing about to make your retreat orderly, as if you fled; and afterward turning suddenly to meete the Enemy that presseth vpon you. For sometimes the Enemy being overioyed in the imagination of a true flight, doth follow vnauidly, and make a disorderly pursuit; euery man pressing to be foremost, vpon whom you may returne without danger, and againe, chase them that follow you, who will be struck with a feare in that you dare, contrary to their expectation, turne againe & make head against them. *Onofander* giueth here three wayes to resist the *Menocides*: one by diuiding your battaile into a *Triphalange*, & opposing two phalanges against the two wings of the *Cressant*, forbearing and standing firme with the third till opportunity be to moue (which is the battaile that *Ælian* opposeth against the *Cælembolos*.) The second by vsing the *Loxe-phalange* against it, as did *Epaminondas* at the battaile of *Leutira* against the *Lacedemonian* half-moone, as I haue shewed elsewhere, namely Chap. 30. §. 7. The third in making semblance of flying; for the half moone is a forme, which in standing may well be kept whole, in mouing will soone be broken and fall into disorder, as *Cicuta* an Italian writer noteth very well. If then you faigne to flye, keeping your men in order, the *Menocides* following you will breake of it selfe, and so you haue good opportunity to returne, and in all likelihood to win the day against it, especially being in disorder. Leo giueth the same aduise to his Generall, onely he speaketh of Sea matters, *Onofander* of Land seruice.

Words of direction for the *Rombe*.

For the forming of the *Rhombes*, see the 19 Chapter, and my Notes vpon that Chapter, §. 6.

b *Diod. Sic. l.*
15. 486.
c *Onofand. cap.*
66. Leo. cap. 30.
§. 184.

2 *Ælian. 19. §. 41.*

d *Pausanias in*
Arcad. lib. 4. 71.

e *Leo. 30. §. 101.*

a *Cicuta de lib.*
d *scipt. militare*
l. 2. 220.

Leo. cap. 20.
§. 191.

For

The Tactics of Ælian, or

For the Cressant.

First order your body into a long square, Plagiophalanx.

- 1 The 2 file-leaders in the middelt of the square, stand.
- 2 The next 2 on either hand, moue forward one foot before the other two, their files mouing withall, and holding their distance.
- 3 So the 4 next file-leaders each before other, on either side a foot.
- 4 Then two more on either side, aduance before the rest that moued two foot a peece.
- 5 Then the 2 next on either side, 3 foot apeece.

To restore to the first Posture:

Face about. Moue all at once (excepting the 2 middle files) and take your first ground.

Of the Horse-battaile Heteromekes, and the Plagiophalange to bee opposed against it.

CHAP. XLV.

THE horse-battaile Heteromekes is that, which hath the depth double to the length. It is profitable in many respects. (1) For seeming to bee but a few in so small a breadth, it deceieth the Enemy, and easily breaketh his forces with the thicknesse & strength of the embattailing, and may without perceiuing be led through streight and narrow passages. The (3) foot battaile to encounter is called the Plagiophalange, or broad fronted battaile. For being but slender in depth, it beareth forth and extendeth it selfe in length, so that albeit it be broken in the middelt with the charge of Horse, yet is nothing broken but a little of the depth, and the fury of the Horse is carried not vpon the multitude of foot, but streight and immediatly into the open aire and field. And for that cause is the length thereof much exceeding the depth.

NOTES.

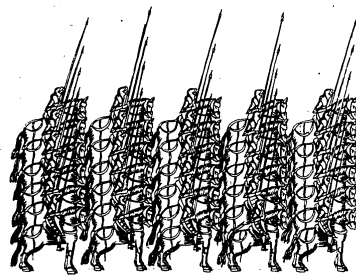
OF the 2. battailes Heteromekes and Plagiophalanx I haue spoken before in my notes vpon the thirtieth Chapter. The Heteromekes is a kinde of Herse, the Plagiophalange the broad fronted battaile therein mentioned.

² For seeming to be but a few.] Amongst all the stratagems vsed in Warre, it hath bene accounted alwayes a master piece of skill to deceiue the Enemy with shew of forces, that are in any Army: sometime with semblance of more men, then wee haue, to feare him, sometime with concealing our number, to prouoke him rashly to fight, and aduenture himselfe in battaile. Of these two kinde we haue an example in *Cæsar* at the siege of *Gergonia*.

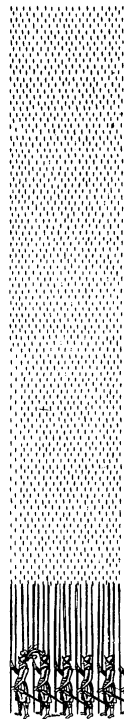
Cap. 45.

Plagiophalanx, or y^e broad fronted battaile of foote

Heteromekes or y^e Herse of Horse



The front



Gergouia. Caesar himselfe writeth thus : When Caesar came into his lesser Campe ^{Cesarde l'ell. gall. 7763. A. el. 1.} (hee had two Campe at that siege) to take view of his workes, he perceived that the hill, which was holden by the Enemie, was become emptie of men, which hill a few dayes past, could hardly be scene for the multitude, that covered it. Maruelling thereat, he asked of the run awyes the cause (of whom great numbers came flocking to him every day :) It appeared by all their reports, which Caesar also understood by his owne Scoutes, that the ridge of the hill was almost euen, but yet wooddy and narrow, by which there was access to the other part of the towne. That the Enemie mightily feared that place, and were now of opinion, that seeing the Romans had gained one hill, it the, should lose the other, they should seeke well nigh enclosed round about with a trench, and shut up from issuing out, and from forrage; that all were called out of the Citie by a Vercinotorix to fortifie the place. Caesar having gotten this intelligence, sent at midnight a new troopes of horse thither, and commanded them to rid up and downe in all places with greater tumult, then their manner was. As soone as it was day, hee killed a great number of carriage-horse and Mules to be brought out of the Campe, and their pads were taken off from them, and that the Muleters putting on head-pieces, should ride about the hills in shew, as if they were horse-men. To these he added a few Horse, who were to spread themselves abroad here and there, to amaze the Gaules the more. Hee killed them to adresse themselves, and to draw to one and the same place, fetching a large compass about. These things were scene a farre off out of Gergouia (for from thence the Campe might well be discerned) and yet in such distance it could not be certainly perceived, what the matter was. He sent a legion along the ridge of the same hill, and placed it (drawing it a little further forward) in the nether ground: below, and hid it in the woods. The Gaules here at increase their suspicion, and all the forces appointed for the fortifications of their Campe were led thither. Caesar espying the Campe of the Enemie to be void of men, conueed Souldiours stragling, as it were, and not in troopes, from the greater Campe unto the lesser, hiding those things by which they might be knowne, and covering their ensignes of Warre, lest happily they might be discied out of the Fowres, and gave instructions to the Legats, whom he had set ouer every Legion, what he would haue done. After these directions hee gave the signall: the Souldiours after the signall giuen, with all speed fell up to the Munitio, and entering, made themselves masters of three Camps of the Enemie. And the speed of their surpris was such, that Theutomarus King of the Nitiobrigians, being suddenly surprisid in his Tent, as he rested about noone, the upper part of his body being naked, had much adoe to saue himselfe upon his horse (which was also wounded in escaping) from the hands of the rising Souldiours. This example of Caesar containeth the two kinds before remembred of deceiuing the Enemie. For hee both made a greater shew of horse-men, then hee had, by setting Muleters on horse backe, and giuing them head-pieces, and also dissimled the number of them, who were in the lesser Campe, which gave vpon the Enemies workes, by conueying Souldiours out of the greater Campe piece meale, as it were, and one after another. The policy yeilded victory to Caesar against the Gaules before: as you may see in the fift booke of his Commentaries. And in this very kinde, that Elian speaketh of, that is, in making his front narrow and his battaile deepe, and so dissembling his forces, Cleandridas the Lacedemonian wonne a noble battaile against the Thurians, as I haue noted in the nine and twentieth Chapter of this booke. Examples of the manner of these flights are euery where to be found in Histories.

The french G.
norall.

A people in the
bon.

Caesar de bel. gall.
5. p. 748. B.

The Tactics of Ælian, or

3 *The foot battaile to encounter it.*] Diuers kinde of battailes are fitter (as I conceiue) to be opposed against this horſe-battaile, then the Plagiophalange. And, I take it, it is not therefore here ſet downe as the *beſt forme* to encounter, and repulſe the horſe, but rather to ſhew, that, if you bee not otherwiſe able to auoide them, you may in this forme ſuſtaine the leſſer loſſe. For ſo much importes the reaſon of Ælian *viz.* that, if you be broken in the middeſt by the horſe, yet is nothing broken, but a little of the depth, and the fury of the horſe is carried into the open field, & not vpon the reſt of *the foot*. If your foot battaile were flanked with a riuer, wood, trench, wall, or ſome ſuch other ſtrength, I would ther well hold with this reaſon. For then might the foot open (as in the Dimalange Antitimus) and ſuffer the horſe to paſſe through, and to fall into the riuer, or vpon that ſtrength, which you were flanked with all. But when the horſe breake through your foot, and paſſe into the open field, they haue aduantage to turne againe vpon your backe, and freedom of a many charges, as they liſt to giue vpon you. The Plinthium, the halfe Moone, the Epicampios, or hollow-fronted battaile deſcribed in the next folowing Chapter, and the wedge of foot, are to be preferred before the Plagiophalange. For all theſe kinde are inuented to repulſe horſe, in what forme ſoeuer they giue on, and ſome of them, in caſe the horſe be forward in charging, to ouerthrow and diſcomfit them. Of ſome of theſe we haue ſpoken before, other ſome follow to be treated of. The Heteromackes horſe battaile, is not in our dayes much vſed, except it be in marching. The great Commanders of our time, rather in fight, order their horſe into a Plagiophalange, which forme they hold more fit for the ſvie of the weapons of our age. But the Plagiophalange of foot remembred by Ælian to encounter horſe, ought to be very ſhallow in depth. For if it ſhould be according to the old faſhion, 16. in depth (which number the file of the Macedonians held) or according to our cuſtome 10. I ſee not how it is poſſible for a troope of horſe to breake it, or to paſſe through it into the open field, the depth of the battaile being ſufficient to ſuſtaine the charge of any horſe. How the Heteromackes, and how the Plagiophalange are framed, I haue taught before in the thirtieth Chapter.

Of another kinde of Rhombe for horſe-men, and of the foot-battaile called Epicampios Emproſthia to encounter it.

CHAP. XLVI.

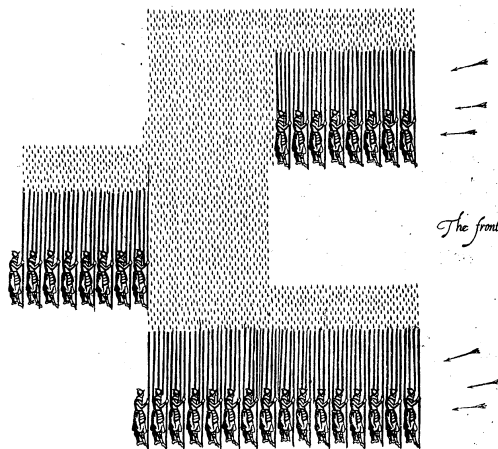


Nother ſort of Rhombocides there is, whereof I neede ſay no more, but that it ſleeth, and ranketh not. I haue before ſhewed the vſe thereof; and that *Heon* the Theſſalian was the inuenter, and that *Iaſan Medeus* husband put it in practice: the vſe thereof is great, it being directed and led in the foure ſides by the Captaine, the Lieutenant, and the two flanke-commanders. It is commonly faſhioned of Archers on horſe-backe,

as the Armenian, and Perſian manner is.

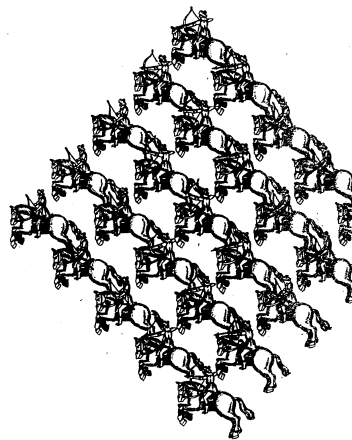
Againſt it is opposed the foot-battaile, called (1) Epicampios Emproſthia,

Epicampios Emproſthia



Cap. 46.

The Rhombe



Rhia, the hollow fronted battaile because the circumduction of the front is like an embowing. The end of this forme is to deceiue and ouer-reach the Archers on horse-backe, e ther by wrapping them in the void space of the front, as they charge, and giue on vpon the spune, or else disordering them first with the winges, and breaking their fury, by ouerthrowing them finally with their ranks about the middle Ensignes. This kinde of battaile was deuised to entrappe and beguile. For opening the middle hollownesse, it maketh shew but of a few, that march in the winges, hauing notwithstanding thrice as many following and seconding in the reare. So that, if the winges bee of power sufficient for the incounter, there needeth no more: if not, retiring easily on either side, they are to ioyne themselves to the bulke of the battaile.

NOTES.

(1) *A* *Nother sort of Rhomboides there is.*] The inscription of this Chapter seemeth not to bee right; because the forme of the Rhomboeides here mentioned, differeth not, but is the same, that was last spoken of. In the former hee said it was invented by *Ileon* the Thessalian, and in use amongst the Thessalians, and called *Ile* of his name. In this he saith as much, adding onely that *Iason*, *Medeas* husband, who was also a Thessalian, put it most in practise. So that the Rhombes seeme to be all one; and the inscription of the Chapter either corrupted or mistaken; and that it ought to bee of the Rhombé and the hollow-fronted battaile to encounter it. I need say no more of this Rhombé, the forme of it, the manner of framing, and the difference of it from other Rhombes are sufficiently declared in other places before.

(2) *Against it is opposed the Epicampios Emprosthia.*] About the forme of this battaile there is also some difference amongst the learned. *Casaubon* in his translation of *Polybius* translateth *Epicampios* in Greeke by the Latin word *Forceps*. Of whose opinion *Iustus Lipsius* seemeth to be. If I dissent from so great learned men vpon good reason and authoritie, I hope, I shall not incurre the opinion of arrogancy, when I haue spoken, what I thinke, let the Reader iudge, as hee pleaseth: I preiudicate no mans opinion. For the *forceps* (tonges) or *Forfex* (sheeres) which *Lipsius*, and *Casaubon* hold to be all one with the *Epicampios*, *Vegetius* resembleth them to the letter V. His words are these: *Against it (that is against the wedge) the forme of battaile is opposed, which they call Forfex.* For this is a kinde of battaile framed of the choicest Souldiers to the likenesse of the letter V, and it receiveth and shutteth with in it the wedge. *Vegetius* saith, the *Forfex* or *Forceps* is like the letter V. Of this forme is the *Cælembolos* in *Ælian*; and resembled to the same letter in expresse tearmes; as you may see in his thirtié sixe Chapter. So that having the same forme, it must be the same battaile, howsoever they differ in the Greeke and Latin names. This being so, and seeing *Ælian* in this Chapter describeth the *Epicampios* by it selfe, and in another Chapter the *Cælembolos* by it selfe giuing a different forme to them both, there is no probability to thinke they should be one. Now besides the forme here set downe by *Ælian*, (which is to bee marked, as it is described,) the description of *Xenophon* shewes the forme of the *Epicampios Emprosthia*, out of whose words a man may easily discern, that the *Cælembolos* and it are not all one.

one. For he resembleth it to two [put together, that is one Gamma on one side, another Gamma on the other. Put therefore two Gammas together in this sort ^[1] and you haue the perfect forme of the Epicampios Emprothia. The passage is worth the recital, although it be somewhat long. For it both containeth the forme of the battaile, and the manner of opposition against it. Thus then he writeth concerning the field fought betwixt *Cyrus* the elder, and *Cræsus*: *When both the Armies were in sight one of another, and Cræsus being farre superiour in number, resolved to ouer-front Cyrus his battaile, ordering his owne Phalange in an embowed forme (for otherwise there is no way to ouer-front and encompasse) he framed it on each side like the letter Γ to the end that all his forces might fight at once together. Cyrus seeing this, continued neuerthelesse his march, and held on with the same pace he had done before; and marking how the Enemy had made the inflexion on both sides before, and extended their wings; doe you perceiving, said he to Chrysanthas, where they haue made their inflexion? Yes, said Chrysanthas, and I marvaile at it. For, me thinkes, they draw their wings so farre forward from the front of their owne Phalange. True, said Cyrus, and from our Phalange too. But why doe they so? because they feare, lest the wings being nere to vs and their Phalange yet farre off, we should gine vpon the wings. But how, said Chrysanthas, can they in so great distance second one another? It is evident, said Cyrus, that when their wings shall come vp, and be right against our flanks, they will turne faces and Phalange wise come against vs on all sides, and fight with vs our way.*

Thus *Xenophon* of the forme and vse of this battaile; the forme being like two Gammas ^[1]. on either side closed, the vse to encompassse the aduerse battaile, and to fall vpon it on all sides. And yet the forme and practise of the forme together with the manner to oppose against, will more plainly appeare in the following words: *Cræsus saith Xenophon, thinking that the Phalange (viz. the middlest of the battaile) with which himselfe marched, was neerer to the Enemy, then the wings, which were stretched forth in length, gave a signall to the wings, not to proceede further, but to face to the Enemy in the ground, where they stood; when they had all turned their countenances toward the Army of Cyrus, he gaue them another signe to goe and charge the Enemy. So did three Phalanges set themselves against Cyrus Army; the first against the front, the other two, one against the right-flanke, the other against the left: So that the whole Army of Cyrus were put into a great feare. For as a small Plinthium comprehended in a great one, so was the Army of Cyrus being enuironed every where with the Enemies horse, and armed foot, and Targetiers, and Archers, and Chariots, sauing onely in the reare. Notwithstanding as soone as Cyrus commanded, they turned their faces against the Enemies: The silence on both sides was great for dread of that, which was expected. But when Cyrus thought meete, he began the Paan, and all his Army answered him. After this they ^b shouted altogether, and Cyrus putting spurres to his horse, with his horsemen gaue vpon the Enemies flanke, and with all speed came to hands. The foot presently following in good order wrapped in the Enemy here and there, and had a great deale the better; For they charged the wing in a Phalange, so that the Enemy was forthwith put to flight: hitherto *Xenophon*. In which latter words we may see the forme of the Epicampios more fully expressed. For first he sheweth that wings of the Phalange of *Cræsus* were aduanced a good way before the front of the Phalange it selfe. Then that the front of these wings aduanced, came vp as far as the reare of *Cyrus* his Phalange. Thirdly, that they marched*

Xenophon *Cyrop.* l. 7.
173. A.

*non videntur
hæreticis
vultu
hæreticis*



Xenophon *Cyrop.*
l. 7. 176. B.

*hæreticis
vultu
hæreticis*

vp in a right line. For *Xenophon* resembleth *Cyrus* his battaile to a little Plinthium, the battaile of *Cræsus* to a great Plinthium, so that both battailes must be square & figured on all sides in right lines, as we haue in the 42 Chap. Fourthly, that the front of the Epicampios must be hollow to receive and claspe in, as it were, the aduerse battaile: the two gammæes (whereof *Xenophon* spake before) ioyned together in the vpper part being a true resemblance of the front of this battail. The manner of the opposition against it is likewise described by *Xenophon*. First *Cyrus* staid till the wings of the Epicampios were come vp euen, and turned their faces against his flanks. Then when they were come vp, commanded he his flanks to face toward them to receive the charge. When the fight was begunne, *Cyrus* from the reare with reserves of horse and foot gaue vpon the flanks of the wings of the Epicampios (for in the fight, by reason of turning of their faces towards the flanks of *Cyrus* his Phalange, their flanks were towards *Cyrus* his reare) and so charging them in flanke and front they were easily defeated. To returne then to the comparison of the *Forceps* and the *Epicampios*, by this example out of *Xenophon* the difference betwixt them may easily appear:

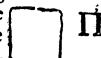
The *Epicampios* making 2 angles in the bottom of the hollow front, the *forceps* but one, & the angle in the *forceps* is acute, the 2 angles in the *Epicampios* both right angles, & the figures differ as much one from another, as the two gammæes ioyned together differ from the letter V. *Ælian* in this Chapter sheweth no other vse of the *Epicampios*, but against horse. But the vse is no lesse against foot, as the former example teacheth, & many other, which are to be found partly in History, partly are mentioned in my notes vpon this booke. A notable experience of this forme you may see noted vpon the 28 Chapter of this Booke, in the fight betwixt *Scipio* and *Asdruball*; another in the battaile of *Miltiades* at Marathon, against the Persians: likewise in the battaile of *Xerxes* against the Franks, of which I shall haue occasion to speak hereafter. For the framing of this battaile the words of direction may be these: First, make a broad fronted Phalange. Then

- 1 Advance your right and left wings, and let the middlest of the battaile stand firme. Vnder the name of the wings, I vnderstand so many files as shall be thought enough to march out to make the hollow front: the bringers vp of wings must ranke with the file-leaders of the middlest.
- 2 Face and charge into the hollownesse of the front.

To restore to the first Posture.

- 1 Wings, face about to the right or left hand.
- 2 March and ioine with the body in an euen front.
- 3 Face as you were first.

There is added by some translators of *Ælian* an *Epicampios* opisthia to the *Epicampios* emprothia. This battaile they would haue to be signified in their words, *This kind of battaile was devised to enwrap and beguile*. But hee that shal weigh the words following, shal see that *Ælian*'s meaning is to describe the *Emprothia* more fully, euen in the selfe same place. For he spea-



Front.

Epicampios.

Forceps.



Front.



Ælian *sheweth
this form against
summes vnder,
lib. 4. c. 68.*

keth of the few that march in the wings, and of thrice as many that follow in the reare. Besides, he saith, that if the wings be not sufficient to repulse the enemy, they may retire and ioine to the bulke of the body. The wings are therefore led on first, and the masse of the body followeth, whereas in the Epicampios opisthia the wings are stretched out behind, and follow the body. And albeit there be in Ælian no words of the Opisthia, yet I may not deny that there is an Epicampiot Opisthia: Suidas proueth it plainly; He defineth the *Επικαμπιος* *οπισθια*, thus: It is called *epicampios* when the battaile aduanceth against the enemy, and hath the wings drawne out in length on both sides behind. The vse of the Opisthia is as it seemeth, to auoid the encircling or encompassing of an enemy, that hath a greater quantity of souldiers then we, and meanes to charge our reare. Alexander the Great, being farre inferior to Darius in multitude of men, vse this forme at Arbela. Diodorus Siculus saith, that after he had ordered his battaile against Darius in a right front, hee framed an Epicampios behind each wing, to the end that the enemy with his multitude might not encompasse the small number of the Macedonians. And this may suffice for both the formes of the Epicampios.

^a Suidas in *Epicampios*.

^b Diod. Sic. l. 17. 592. Arr. c. 3. 60. 63.

*Words of direction for the Epicampios
Opisthia.*

- 1 Aduance your body, and let the wings stand firme.
- 2 The wings of one flanke face outward to the right, the other to the left hand.

To rustore, &c.

- 1 Wings face as you were.
- 2 March vp, and front with the middest of the body.

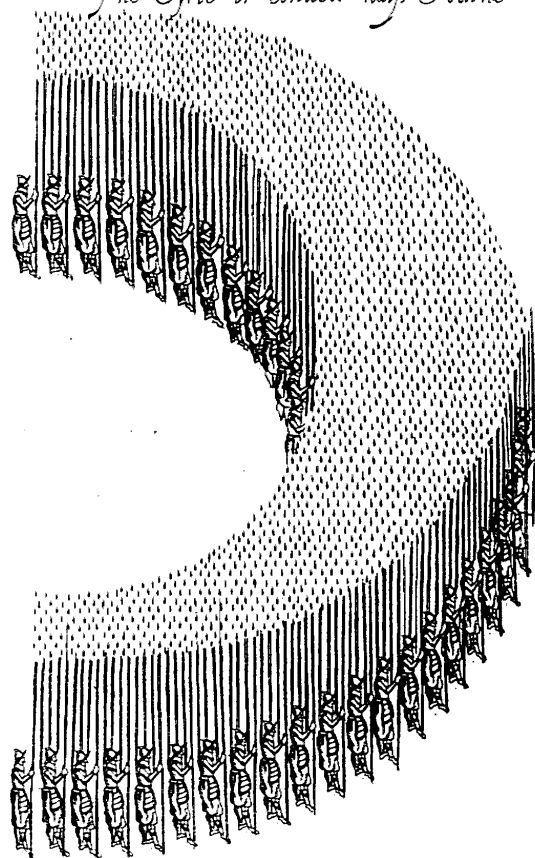
*Of the foot-battaile called Cyrte, which is to be set against
the Epicampios.*

CHAP. XLVII.



HE Battaile to be opposed against the Epicampios is called Cyrte of the circumferent forme. This also maketh semblance of small forces, by reason of the conuexity of the figure. For all round things seeme little in compasse, and yet stretched out in length, and singled, they proue twice as much as they appeared to be. As is euident in Pillars which are round, and therefore in fight shew the one halfe, and conceale the other. The greatest piece of skill in embattailing, is to make shew of few men to the enemy, and in deed to bring twice as many to fight.

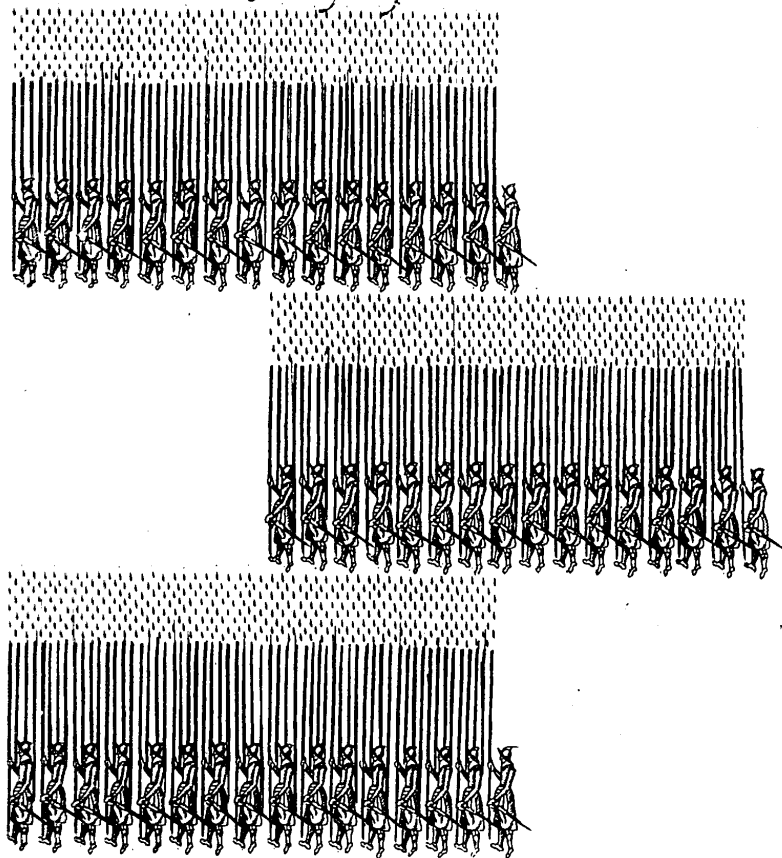
The Gyte or convex half Moone



Cap. 47.

The front

The Epicampros



NOTES.

THE forme of this battaile, albeit it be a halfe Moone, and is called by *Polybius* Menocides, yet is it in a manner contrary to the Menocides described in the 44 Chapter of this Booke. That turned the concavity or hallownesse backward toward the reare, and the two hornes against the enemy, and sought to encompasse, this turneth the conuexe or outward part foremost, not the hornes, and endeavoureth to auoid encompassing: For the Epicampios, if a man should enter into the hollownesse thereof, claspeth him in, and is able to charge him in front, and on both flanks at one time. But the conuexe halfe Moone auoiding that danger, meeteth the enemy with the bearing out of the halfe circle, and giueth the two wings of the Epicampios enough to doe, being not to be annoyed with the depth of the hollownesse, which remaineth a pretty distance more backward then the points of the wings. So that this forme is fit to be opposed against the Epicampios, and looseth no aduantage of embattailing: and it auoideth the perill of the hollow front by not entring, and yet maintaineth the fight against the two wings that are thrust out to encompasse; being of sufficient strength to encounter the Epicampios, either of them not dissolving their forme, or notwithstanding that the wings of the Epicampios retire, as *Aelian* prescribeth, when they are ouerpressed, or else the body of the hollownesse aduance to make an equall front with the wings, and so vnite their force. Howbeit I haue not read in the Greeke history examples of this forme set against the Epicampios, or vsed otherwise in fight; onely I finde in *Polybius* at the battaile of Canniba *Hannibal* practised it against the Romans, not trusting to the strength of the forme, but rather with the shew thereof, couering a further drift, to beguile and bring them into his snare. His words are in effect these: *Hannibal*, saith he, embattailed his army thus; He placed on the left hand the Spanish and Celtish horse right ouer against the Roman horse: next to them of foot halfe the Lybian heavy armed; then the Spaniards and Celts, next them the other halfe of the Lybians. On the right wing he ordered the Numidian horse: After he had framed an euen front of the whole Army, he aduanced the middle Spaniards and Gauls, and cast them into a conuexe halfe Moone, gathering up the depth therewith and making it thin, meaning to hide the Lybians with it, and disposing the Lybians behinde them as seconds. And a little after he declareth the manner of fight. Then the heavy-armed foot succeeding the light-armed, encountred together. The Spaniards therefore and Gauls a while brauely maintained their order and fight against the Romans; but being ouer-pressed, they turned their backs, and retired, dissolving the forme of their halfe Moone. The Roman Cohorts courageously following easily broke asunder the battaile of the Celts, which at first was ordered in a small depth; themselves transferring the thickeesse of their battaile from the wings of the middest, where the fight was; for the middest and the wings fought not at the same time. The middest began the fight first, because the Celts ranged in a halfe Moone, bore much more forward then the wings, hauing not the hollownes but the prominent swelling of the halfe Moone lying out toward the enemy. So the Romans following & running together to the middest, where the enemy gaue ground, entered so far into the enemies battaile, that they had the heavy-armed Lybians on either of their flanks; of whom those of the right wing facing to the Target, charged them on the right; those of the left wing, facing to the pike, gaue upon their left side, occasiō it selfe shewing what was fit to be done: so that it chanced

The Tactics of Ælian, or


as Anniball had foreseene, that after the defeat of the Celts, the Romans pursuing the victory, should fall out to be enclosed in the midst of the Lybians. So Polibius of the prominent halfe moon or Cyrt, which Annibal vsed; to which of purpose he gaue to make thinnesse, because it should be broken & beaten, and the enemy drawn into the snares as it were, and ambush of the seconds, that is, of the Lybian heavy armed. If it had had the due proportion of depth, it might haue stood a longer time against the efforts of the enemy, and disputed the victory against the broad-fronted phalange; against which if it may be opposed, there is no question but it may be set against the Epicampios, because the broad-fronted phalange hath all her forces vnited together, the Epicampios fighteth onely with her two wings, the midst of the battaile being farre from ioyning; vnlesse a man be compelled to enter into the hollownesse of the front, in which case both the front and the wings may annoy him.

Words of direction for the Cyrt or conuexe
halfe Moone.

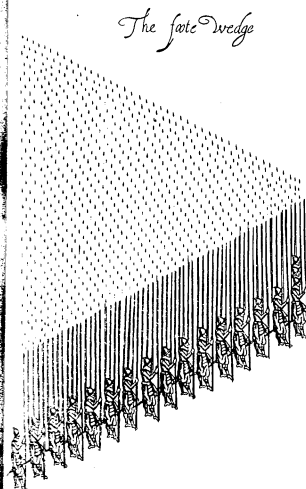
- First, order the body into a long square or Plagiophalange."
- 1 Then let the two file-leaders in the midst of the square march out with their files.
- 2 The next two on either hand moueright forward one foot short of the first, keeping distance in flanke, as before.
- 3 So the next foure, two on each side; the two next one foot short of the last, the other two one foot short of them.
- 4 Then the next foure, two on each side, each two foot short of other.
- 5 Then the foure last, two on each side, each three foot short of the other.

of the Tetragonall Horse-battaile, and of the wedge of foot to be
opposed against it.

CHAP. XLVIII.

(1)  He Tetragonall horse-battaile is square in figure, but not in number of men. For in squares the number is not alwaies the same: and the Generall for his aduantage may double the length to the depth. The Persians, Sicilians, and most of the Grecians doe affect this forme, and take it to be easie in framing, and better in vse.

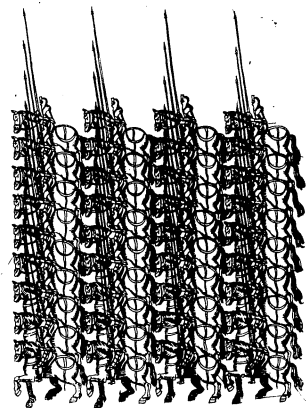
(2) Against it is opposed the Phalange called Embolos, or Wedge of foot, all the side consisting of armed men. This kind is borrowed of the horse-mans wedge. And yet in the wedge of horse one sufficeth to lead in front, where the foot-wedge must haue three, one being vnable to beare the sway of the encounter. (3) So Epaminondas the Theban fighting with the Lacedemonians at Mantinea ouerthrew a mighty power of theirs by casting his army into a wedge. (4) It is fashioned when the Antistomus Diphalangy



The fore wedge

Cap. 48.

The Horsebattaile square in figure,
not in horre



The front

in marching ioyneth the front of the wings together, holding them behinde like vnto the letter A.

NOTES.

(1) **T**His Chapter containeth the description of two battails, one of horse, the other of foot to be opposed in fight one against another; namely the *square of horse*, and the *wedge of foot*. Of which the tetragonall horse-battle, *square in figure, or ground* (for all is one) is described in my notes vpon the 18. Chapter of *Ælian*, as also the *wedge of horse*, from which this wedge of foot (as *Ælian* saith) is deriued. It will be therefore needlesse to repeat, what is there written about the formes and diuersity of them; or to make comparison of their vse and aduantage. Against the Rhombe of horse, if they come to charge fo it, he hath set downe two formes of foot to receiue them; the *Cressant* and the *hollow-fronted* battaile called *Epicampios emprosthia*: which vpon this reason, because they are hollow in front both, and the Rhombe shooteth forth and chargeth in a point, must of necessity by receiuing that point into their hollownesse, and plying it with their weapons on all sides, distresse the Rhombe both in front and flanke, which is a dangerous kinde of fight, and such a one as seildome may be tolerated or endured.

(2) Against the *square horse battle* in figure or ground, he opposeth in this Chapter, the *wedge of foot*, which albeit it cannot with the like art wrappe in and encompass the square, yet is it of force sufficient to breake and disseuer it, and so to disorder and deface it. For the square of horse hauing a large front and going with full speed to charge, falleth vpon the narrow front of the wedge, which according to *Ælian* ought to containe no more then three men, and they knitting themselves close, their pikes pretending and being seconded with the rest of their companions behinde pretending their pikes likewise, receiue the charge with a firme stand, so that onely the midst of the horse falling vpon the point of their front; cannot reach to the flanks of the wings thereof (because the wedge from the first narrowing groweth backward into an increasing breadth) without breaking of their forme, and altering of the front of their square, wherein they were ordered: which if they doe, their repulse cannot but follow, because they fight out of order. Now that the forme of the *wedge* in horse is able to endure the shot of the horse, that came against them in a *square*, appeareth by the 18. Chapter of this booke, where it is said that *Philip* King of Macedon *Alexanders* father vsed this forme alone, and that *Alexander* himselfe ordered his horse in the same manner, who were both victorious in all their fields. That it is as good for foot against horse, besides the reasons before rehearsed may bee euided by this, that the horse are in motion in the charge, and by that meanes are soone disordered, whereas the foot stand fast, and keepe themselves secure to repulse the violence of the horse.

3. So Epaminondas the Theban] This battaile is excellently described by *Xenophon* in his seuenth booke of his history of the Grecians. His words sound thus: After Epaminondas had embattailed his army, as he thought fit, he led not straight way against the enemy directly, but declined westward toward the Tegan mountains lying right over against the enemy, which bred an opinion, that he had no will to fight that day. For after he came up to the mountain and had taken

*Xenoph. Hellen.
1.7. p. 645. D.*

b. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

c. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

d. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.
That is, with the
point of the
wedge against
the enemy.

e. Light-armed.

f. 1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

kew a view of his army, he caused them to lay downe their armes in the uppermost part of all, as if he meant to incampe; and by this means allayed the preparation of fight, which most of the enemies had conceived in minde, and likewise their care in maintaining their place and order in battaile. After securing vs to the front, his companies that marched in a wing, hee fashioned his whole army into a strong wedge. Then commanding them to take up their armes, he led on, and they followed. The enemy seeing him aduance contrary to their expectation, had no leisure to be still, but some ranne to their place in battaile, some embattailed themselves, some bridled their horse, some put on their curaces, all were like to men, that were like rather receive, then give a foyle to the enemy. Epaminondas led on his army like a galle with the prow against the enemy, imagining that where soeuer he should breake their array, he should thereby overthrow their whole army. For he resolved to bring the best and strongest part of his army to fight, casting the weakest behinde in the reare, knowing that being defeated they would discourage their owne side, and breed new courage in the enemy. The enemy ranged his horse like a phalange of armed foot in a great depth without trying foot with them. But Epaminondas made a strong wedge of his horse also allotting them foot which had no heres, conceiuing that cutting asunder the enemies horse, he should easily overthrow their whole army. For you shall hardly find any, that will make good their ground, after they see them of their owne side kill themselves to their feet. And to the end, to with hold the Athenians from scouring shoof of the left wing next unto them, he placed both horse and foot right ouer against them upon the hills, to put them in feare of charging their reare, if they gaue ayd unto the enemy, so led he on to the charge, and was not deceiued of his hopes. For hauing the better where soeuer he gaue on, he put the whole army of his a versaries to flight. So Xenophon. Where you may note not onely a square of horse defeated by a wedge of horse, but also a square battaile of foot defeated by a wedge of foot. And to shew more plainly, that the forme of the wedge is forcible against a broad fronted Phalange, I will recite two examples more. The first is out of T. Livius, who writeth of a battaile fought betwixt the Romans and Celtiberians thus. The Celtiberians knowing that the Roman army hauing spoiled their Country, would retire through a Forrest called Manlius his Forrest, hid themselves in it of purpose, to the end to fall upon the Romans upon aduantage and vnlooked for. When the Roman army had entred the Forrest by day-light, the enemy rising out his ambush upon the sudden invaded them on both flanks. Which Placcus (he was the Roman Generally) seeing, stilled the tumult by the Capitaines commanding euery man to his place, and armies, and bringing the baggage and carriage beasts together, he constantly and without feare embattailed his army partly by himselfe, partly by his Legates and by the Tribunes of the souldiers, as the time and place required. The enemy came on, and the skirmish was attached in the uttermost parts of the Roman Phalange, and at last the battaile toyne. The best he was hot in all parts, but fortune diuers: for the Legions behaved themselves bravely, and the auxiliare in both wings as well. The mercenaries were hardly laid unto by the enemy (who bore the like armes, and was a better kind of souldier) & had much ado to make good their ground. The Celtiberians, when they saw they could not match the legions in the ordinary manner of fight, and Ensigne against Ensigne, cast themselves into a wedge, and so assailed the Romans: in which kind of fight they are so powerfull, that they are scarce to be resisted. Then the legions also branched, and the battell was almost broken. Which danger when Placcus perceiued, he rode to the legionary horsemen And is there no helpe in you said he? This army will immediately be lost. When they cried out at all hands,

hands, they would gladly doe what soeuer he commanded. Double the troops, said he, of both legions, and with all your might force your horse against this wedge of the enemy, wherewith they presse vs: you shall doe it more violently, if you giue on, drawing off the horses bridle, which the Roman horsemen haue of ien done heretofore to their great commendation. They obeyed, and pulling off their horses bridle they passed & repassed through the enemies wedge twice with great slaughter, euery one breaking his staffe. The Celtiberians after the breaking and dispersing of their wedge, in which all their hope remained, began to be afraid, and almost quitting the fight, sought where they might best to save themselves. Hitherto Livy. In which passage a man may observe the violence of the wedge, which if it be rightly managed, is of wonderfull power to breake and dispart any square it shall fall vpon. The other example or precedent, is out of Agathias, where he describeth the battaile betwixt Narfes (the Emperour Iustinius Lieutenant, and Bucelinus General of the French-men. He hath thus. Narfes when he came to the place where the fight should be, ordered presently his army into a Phalange. The horse were ranged in the wings; himselfe stood in the right wing, and next him Zandalas Capitaine of his followers, and with him all his mercenary and household seruants, that were not vsuit for the warres; on either side of him was Valerian and Artabanus, who were commanded to hide themselves a while in the thicke of the wood, that was thereby: and when the enemy toyne, to fall out suddenly and vnlooked for vpon them, and to put them into an amazement. The foot had all the space in the middelt, and the file-leaders toyne shoulder to shoulder being armed with curaces and other pieces of armour reaching downe to the foot, and with cokes: Behind them were other souldiers ordered euen as farre as to the open fields. The light armed and such as used flying weapons were cast in the reare, expecting a signall of employment. The middelt was reserved for the Heruli, and remained empty, because they were not yet come up: Bucelinus aduanced his battell, and all ran cheerefully against the Romans, not leisuely, and in good order, but rashly and tumultuously, as if with the very cry they would haue rent asunder all that stood against them. The forme of their battaile was like a wedge; For it resembled the letter Delta. And the front which shot out in a point, was covered and clof, by reason it was hemmed in with Targets (you would haue said they counterfeited a swines head) but both the flanks on each side lying out by files in depth, and stretching backward by a swiffe, by little and little were parted and sundered one from another, and bearing out still toward the reare ende: at last in a great distance so that the ground in the middelt betwixt them was empty, and the backs of the souldiers that were in the wedge, appeared cleane through the files reuered. For their faces were turned contrariwise one from another, to the end, they might beare them toward the enemy, and save themselves from blowes, by casting their Targets before them, and secure their backe by placing them opposite to the backs of their fellows. All things fell out according to Narfes his wish, to whom both a faire opportunity was presented, and who had wisely before contriued what was to be done. For when the Barbarians running on furiously fell vpon the Romans with a shout and outcry giuing vpon the midler; they presently broake the front of those that stood in the void space, (for the Heruli were not yet come up) and the leaders of the point of the wedge cutting asunder all that stood in their way, euen to the uttermost depth of the file, and yet making no great slaughter, were carried beyond the bringers up of Narfes battaile, and some of them continued their course further, thinking to take in the Roman Campe. Then Narfes presently turning about and extending out his wings, and making (as the Tactics name is) an Epicampos emprosthia, commanded the archers on horse.

Caput porcinum.
a Vexillo. c. 15.

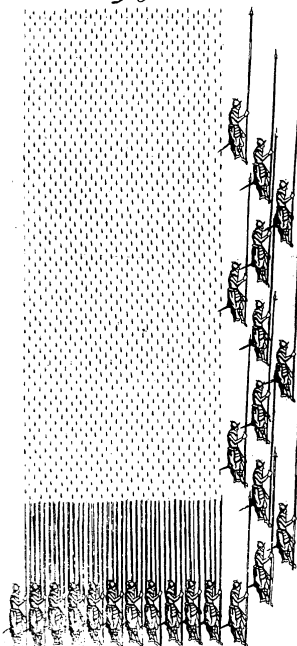
The Tacticks of Ælian, or

horsebacke to send their arrowes by turnes, upon the backs of the enemy, which they easily performed. For being on horsebacke higher then the Barbarian foot, they might at their pleasure strike them, as they advanced forward, being in a great bredth, and nothing to shadow them. Hitherto Agathias. It would be long to rehearse the rest of the battaile which he exaggerateth rhetorically. I have recited so much, as both sheweth the strength of the wedge, and withall the manner which was vsed by Narses, to overthrow it. For I find three kinde of wayes which haue bene practised to resist and defeat it. One by charging it with horse, before it enter the aduerser battaile, as Flaccus did against the Celtiberians. The second to frame the aduerser battaile empty in the middle (filling it with some souldiers notwithstanding for shew) and when hee entreteth the space, to plye his reare with shot, and charge it throughly as Narses did. The third to oppose against it a hollow wedge (which Vegetius calleth forfex) and receiuing and letting in the point of this wedge into the hollownesse of the other to claspe it in, and charge it on all sides. Against the wedge saith Vegetius, is opposed the battaile called forfex, a paire of sheeres: For it is framed of the best and valianest souldiers to the similitude of the letter V. and it receiveth in, and embraceth the wedge, so that it cannot breake through it.

4. It is fashioned when the Diphylange Antistomus. This manner of framing a wedge is described by Ælian in the 36 Chapter: and yet that wedge set downe there openeth in front, keeping the reare shut, and is opposed against the right induction, and called Cælembolos; here the wedge is described that openeth the reare, keeping the front close, and is opposed against the square. But the manner of framing both standeth vpon one reason: For the file-leaders being placed within the Cælembolos, the front of the battaile is opened and the reare kept close: in the other, the file-leaders being without, the reare is opened, the front still maintained shut. Now the file leaders place is varied in either of them, because of the severall effects which they worke. The hollow fronted wedge Cælembolos seeketh to hold the enemy together, & so defeat him. The other to dispart and rout him, and so to gaine the victory. And because the streffe of the Cælembolos is within (for the flanks of the hollownesse claspe in the enemy, and fight against his flanks) therefore are the file leaders the formost that fight within; as likewise because the outsidess of the wedge of this Chapter beare all the weight of the fight, therefore in it are the file-leaders without. For as in all other battailes the file-leaders ought first to attach the enemy, so is it likewise in these two formes. But where Ælian saith, that this battell is made out of the Diphylange Antistomus, by ioyning the wings in front, and opening them behinde, I take the Text to be corrupted. For the Diphylange Antistomus hath the file-leaders within, to resist the horse that charge them, as the 40 Chapter teacheth: this hath the file-leaders without to breake the enemies battaile and disseuer it. The Cælembolos indeed is framed out of the Diphylange Antistomus: But the wedge of this Chapter springeth out of the Phalange Antistomus, which hath the file-leaders without. And so I am of opinion, it ought to be read in the Text. And yet there is no question but another way of figuring the wedge may be practised, then to leave it hollow behind. In this Chapter it is called Embolos, and Ælian saith it is borrowed of the horse-wedge: Now that the horse wedge is so-

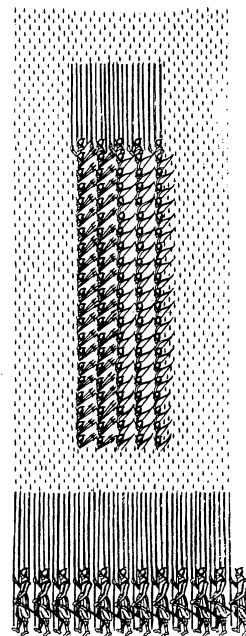
Front. Front.
V A
Cælembolos. Embolos.

The Poplegme



Cap. 49

The Plesium




The front

And not hollow within, is plaine by the 19 and 20 Chapters of this booke. I will conclude this Chapter with the caution of *Vegetius*, which is this, that if you shill make a paire of tongs or a hallow wedge, you ought to haue referues in readinesse behinde the battaile; wherewith you may frame your tongs or wedge. And yet this caution holdeth not alwayes; For as a horle-wedge, so a foot-wedge may be framed without supernumeraries: as the 19 and 20 Chapters shew.

Of the foot-battaile called Plesum, and of the Winding or Sawe-fronted battaile to encounter it.

CHAP. XLIX.

(1)  HE battaile Plesum hath the length much exceeding the depth. And it is called Plesum when armed foot are placed on all sides, the archers and slingers being thrown into the midst. Against this kinde of battaile is set the winding-fronted battaile, to the end that with the vnequall figure it may traine out those of the Plesum to cope with them; and by that meanes dissolue and disorder the thicknesse of the same. And the file-leaders of the winding-fronted battaile obserue the file-leaders of the Plesum, that if they still maintaine their closenesse and fight secret, they also encounter them in the like forme. If the Plesum file-leaders seuer themselves and spring out from their maine force, then they likewise be ready to meet them man to man.

NOTES.

THIS Chapter containeth two foot-battailles, one to be opposed against the other; the first called the *Plesum*, or hollow-square; the second the *winding-fronted-battaile* or *Peplegmene*. Of which the first hath beene vsed by all antiquity, especially by the Grecians, whensoever the enemies overtopped in number, and they feared to be charged on all sides. It is called *Plesum* of the figure which is square; but originally and more particularly of the mould wherein bricks are cast. ^a Because the battaile hath the likeness of the mould; as being both square, and also hollow within, as I haue noted before. Neither is this name given to a battaile alone; ^b *Plutarch* saith, that the chariot wherein *Alexander* rode, when he returned from the Indies quaffing and rioting, was framed *in plesum*, that is, in a square hollow forme, and the Helepolis (an engin which ^c *Demetrius* inuented to batter the Rhodian City) was tetragonall, and had 48 cubits in euery side of the *Plesum*. But in a battaile, that is *Plesum*, saith *Ælian*, which

*Etymologicæ magæ
num in plesum.*

*Plut. in vita
Alexandri.*

*Plut. in vita
Demetrii.*

2 *Hath the length manifoldly exceeding the depth.* The length of a battaile, as I haue shewed heretofore, is that which runneth from the point of one wing to the other in front; the depth, that is measured from the front to the reare. In the *Plesum* then, according to *Ælian*, the length or breadth ought to be manifold to the depth. But it is not generally so; for oftentimes you shall read of *Plesums* with ^d equall sides; and likewise that the *Plesum*

*ἡ πλάτος τοῦ
πλευρῶν.*

*Χηρ. de exp. l. 3.
310. A.*

Att. l. 4. 81. B.

* Xenoph. l. exp. l. 1
264. d.

sum is sometimes hollow within, sometimes solid and filled vp within with men: of which last kinde * *Xenophon* saith, many of the Barbarians framed their troopes in the battaile betwixt *Ariaxerxes* and *Cyrus*. Of the first *Ælian* speaketh in this Chapter: for he would haue the foure sides to consist of armed, and the archers and slingers to be throwne into the hollownesse within. He hath before in the 42 Chapter described the *Plinthium* to be a square battaile in figure and number; this he would haue to be a square with the front manifoldly longer then the flanke. So that both battailes agree in that they are square, both in that they haue armed on all sides, both in that they are hollow within; they differ onely in the forme of the square, which is longer in the *Plesium*, deeper in the *Plinthium*. Their affinity also appeareth in this also, that the *Plinthium* hath the name from a bricke, the *Plesium* from the mould of a bricke; yet are their names oftentimes confounded: For that which is called in one Author *Plesium*, is in another called *Plinthium*: as namely the battaile of *Antony* in Persia, is by *Plutarch* named *Plesium*, by *Appian* *Plinthium*.

* *Plat.* in *Antioch.*
* *App.* in *Pars.*
162.

To shew now the vse of this battaile, it is of the kinde of *Defensius*; and the Grecians, whensoever they feared to be charged in flanke, front, and reare at once, or to be ouer-laid with number of enemies, had recourse vnto this forme. There is a notable example of it in *Thucydides*. The Athenians hauing besieged *Syracuse* in Sicill both by Sea and Land, and being ouercome in two battailes by Sea, thought to march by land to some one of their confederate Cities in the Island; and fearing to be round beset by the *Syracusians* in their way; *Nicias* one of the Athenian Generals put his part of the army in a *Plesium*, and so marched before. *Demosthenes* the other Athenian General, followed with the other part of the army in the same forme. The armedooke into the hollownesse of their battailes the carriage and vnusellfull multitude. When they came to the foord of the river *Anapis*, they found the *Syracusians* and their allies embattailed there, whom hauing beaten from the place, they passed over and continued their march. The *Syracusian* horse still charged, and the light-armed ceased not to ply them with missile weapons; but yet they came not to hand-blows, fearing to hazard against men desperately bent to sell their liues deere. At last wearying them with many dayes skirmish, and disordering their army, they forced them to yeeld. This History is at large set downe by *Thucydides*. I haue abridged it, lest it should take vp too much roome; and yet haue expressed both the forme in his words, and further the meanes, that the enemy vsed to breake it, and to get the victory. This forme was vsed by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia, after that *Clearchus* and the other Coronels were ensnared by *Tissaphernes*, and put to death: and againe by *Xenophon*, when he retreated, after he had failed of the taking of *Asiades*, prisoner, not farre from *Pergamus* a City of *Lydia*. For the meanes to dissolue this battaile, the principall is, not to charge at hand those that stand so embattailed, but to ply them faire off with missile weapons; which is manifest by the fight of the *Syracusians* against *Nicias* and the Athenians; and by that of the Persians, who so assailed *Xenophon* in his retreat last mentiond. *Ælian* setteth against it another forme of battaile which he termeth *Pepligmenē*, the winding fronted battaile, which is by some called the *saue*: what kinde of battaile the *saue* is, I see controuerted. Some would haue it consist of a constant front indented, and not changeable or alterable in any part, during the charge. If that be the *law*, it cannot agree with

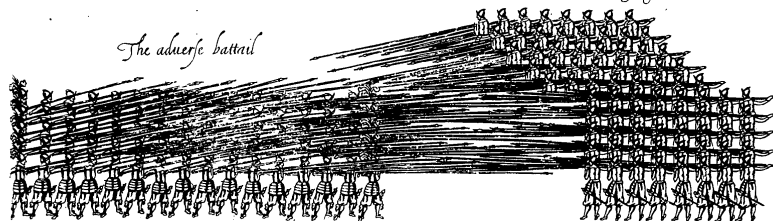
* *Thucyd.* l. 7.
250. c.
These two Generals had each of them half the Army vnder their command.

* *Xenoph.* l. de exp.
l. 3. 303. E.

Cap. 50.

The overwinging battail

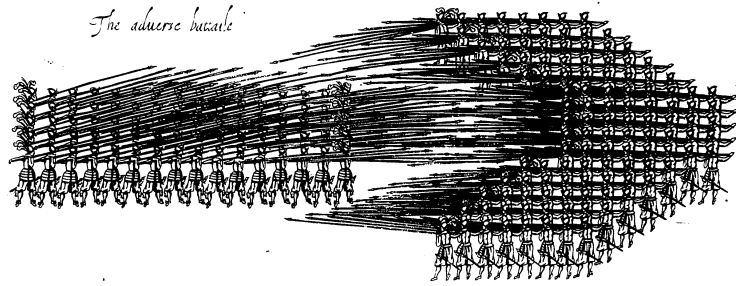
The aduerse battail



Cap. 50.

The adverse battle

The overfronting battle



with *Ælians* description, who would haue the file-leaders of the Peplegmene to aduance before their battaile, and be still in motion, of purpose to traine out the file-leaders of the Pleſium to meet them, thereby to diſſolue the forme of their battaile. And this is but a ſtratagem to preuaile againſt the enemy. For, as ^a *Leo* ſaith, a good Generallought, as a good wreſtler, to make ſhew of one thing, and to put another in practice, to the end to deceiue the enemy, and gaine the victory; as is done in this manner of embattailing; but that the Sawe is no conſtant or ſetled forme of fight, as the reſt are, which are deſcribed by *Ælian* in the Chapters going before, appeareth by *Fieſtus*, whoſe words are theſe: *Serra preliari dicitur, cum aſſidue acciditur, recediturque, neque ullo conſtititur tempore.* The ſkirmiſh is ſaid to be made in the forme of a Sawe, when they that uſe this forme continually giue on and retire, and at no time ſtand ſtill. But we muſt vnderſtand that the mouing is not by mamples or by light-armed, as ^b *Lipſius* interpreteth it, but by file-leaders of the armed, as *Ælian* teacheth, (with intent to traine out the file-leaders of the Pleſium, and ſo to diſorder their battaile:) the reſt of the Peplegmene ſtanding ſtill in their forme. Now then to make a Peplegmene or ſawe-battaile, direction is to be giuen to the file-leaders alone to fall out conſuſedly againſt the aduerſe Pleſium of the enemy, and to the reſt in the files to ſtand ſtill. Otherwiſe being not forewarned, the whole files will moue and follow their leaders; which if they doe, this forme cannot be made, but the battaile remaineth as a ſquare as it did before the going to charge. The forme of framing the battail called the Pleſium, and the words of command are deſcribed in my notes vpon the 42 Chapter.

^a *Leo c. 20 §. 11.*

^b *Lipſius de mil. Rom. l. 4. diſt 7. p. 280.*

Of Hyperphalangeſis, and Hyperkerafiſ, and of Attenuation.

CHAP. L.

(1) **H**yperphalangeſis, or ouerfronting is, when both wings of the Phalange ouer-reach the enemies front.

2 Hyperkerafiſ, or ouerwinging, is when with one of our wings we ouer-reach the front of the enemy. So that he that ouerfronteth, ouerwingeth; but he that ouerwingeth, ouerfronteth not.

For they that match not the enemy in multitude, may yet ouerwing him.

3 Attenuation is when the depth of the battaile is gathered vp, and in ſtead of 16, a ſmaller number is ſet.

NOTES.

IN this Chapter, being the laſt, that deſcribeth formes of battailes, are two kindes of battailes ſet forth, which are (if I miſtake not) of more efficacy, I am ſure, ſuch as haue beene more practiſed, then any of the other; that goe before in this booke; and they ſpecially giue aduantage to them, that haue aduantage in numbers of men, and can frame a larger fronted Phalange then the enemy is able. And either of them oppoſeth a large front againſt the enemy, the one ſtretching it beyōd the points of both their wings the other beyōd the point one of their wings. The firſt kind is called Hy-

H

perphala-

Hyperphalangis over-fronting, the other *Hyperkerasis*, over-winging. *Hyperphalangis* or over-fronting is, saith Ælian;

1 When both wings of the Phalange over-reach the enemies front.] To make it then *Hyperphalangis*, the front must be much broader then the enemies, & extended beyond both their wings, of purpose to over-reach & wrap them in, charging not onely the front, but also the flanks on both sides at once; which is so dangerous a kinde of fight, that he that is so assailed, can have no great hope of making resistance against his enemy; because the front being the place which is ordained for fight, and the pikes being bent and lying out from thence, if at the same time the flanks be also charged, the sides of the souldiers must needs lye open to wounds, no man being able to defend himselfe, and turne his weapons two wayes at once. The over-fronting of ^a Cræsus vsed against Cyrus, rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter, is an eminent example of *Hyperphalangis*, whereby Cræsus at one instant invaded the front and both flanks of the enemies battaile. The like may be said of the battaile of ^b Darius at Issos & Gaugamela, against Alexander; and of ^c Scipio against Asdruball Gisgoes sonne in Spaine; and of ^d Labienus against Cesar in Africa. The manner of framing this forme is diuers: For either you shew all your freces at first, or else conceale some part; and following all, you march in an euen and whole front, and bowing afterward your wings, enclose the flanks of the enemy, or else in on embowed forme at first (such as are the hollow-fronted battailes) and so encompass your enemy, taking him into the hollowesse, as you march forward. Of the first kind was the battaile of ^e Labienus against Cesar which I mentioned last, and those of ^f Darius against Alexander. Of marching in an embowed forme, that of Cræsus against Cyrus: Of concealing your number, that of Cleandridas against the Thurian cited by me in my notes vpon the 29 Chapter of this booke; and of Scipio against Asdruball which is set downe at large in the notes vpon the 28 Chapter.

2 *Hyperkerasis* is when we over-reach the enemies front with one of our wings.] *Over-winging* is of both wings, over-winging but of one. So that albeit your number be smaller then the enemies, yet if you wrap in a part of his front, and one of his wings, you so overwing him. To shew an example of over-winging you may finde in Thucydides, that the Argiues with their allies, being in the field against the Lacedemonians and their allies, the battailes were ordered thus: The Lacedemonians gaue the point of the left wing to the Scirites, who only of the Lacedemonians haue alwaies that place. Next to them they ordered the souldiers that came with Brasidas out of Thrace: Next them the new made Citizens by companies by their sisters, first the Heræans, then the Menælians, Arcadians both. In the right wing were the Tegeans, and a few of the Lacedemonians in the point of that wing. The Loise were ranged on both wings. Thus were the Lacedemonians embattailed: The enemies thus: The Mantineans had the right wing, because the warre was made in their Territory: by them stood the Arcadians their confederates. Then 1000 selected Argiues, whom the City had long time trained up in military exercise, to whom ioyned the other Argiues; and after them were ordered the Cleonæans, and the Orneatians their allies. The last were the Athenians, that had the left wing, and their owne horse before them. This was the preparation and embattailing of both parties. When they went to charge, the Argiues and their allies marched forward with speed and great fury, the Lacedemonians leysurely according to the sound of the pipes,

placed

placed within their battaile, not for any religion sake, but to the end, that framing their motion to the sound of the instrument, they might not in the march breake their order of embattailing, which great armies often doe in aduancing; to ioyn with the enemy. When they were ready to ioyn, King Agis betought himselfe of this stratagem: It is the manner of all armies in the onset to stretch out their right wings, and with them to circument and encompass the left wings of their aduersaries; because euery souldier carefull of his owne safety seeks to cover his unarmed side with the target of him that standeth next to his right hand, and imagineth that the setting of targets close, serues for the best defence against the enemy. The cause is this; the corner file-leader of the right wing desiring to withdraw as much as hee can his naked side from the weapons of the enemy proceedeth to the right hand, and the rest follow him. And at that time the Mantineans a great deale over-reached the Scirites with their wing. The Lacedemonians and Tegeans much more the Athenians, by reason they overmarched them in number. Agis therefore fearing the encompassing of his left wing, seeing that the front of the Mantineans was very broad, and furre extended, gaue a signe to the Scirites and Brasideans to stretch out their wing, and to equall the front of the Mantineans. And for the void space that should remaine vpon their aduancing; he commanded two Polemarchs or Coronels, Hipponoidas and Aristocles to lead therein two cohorts from the right wing, and fill up the void space, concealing that he should, this notwithstanding, leane himselfe strength enough in the right wing, and that the wing opposed against the Mantineans should hereby be better enabled to the encounter. But it happened that Hipponoidas & Aristocles followed not these directions, whether the reason were in the suddenesse of the command, or in the preuention of the enemies giuing on: for which fault they were afterward banished Sparta, as men effeminate & cowards. When they came to hands, the right wing of the Mantineans put the Scirites and Brasideans to flight. And they and their allies, and the 1000 selected Argiues falling into the empty space, that was not filled up, made a great slaughter of the Lacedemonians; and encompassing them forced them to turne their backs in hast, and flye to their waggons, and slue also some of the elder sort of souldiers, that were left for guard there. Hitherto Thucydides. I prosecute not the remanent of the battaile, because it is somewhat long. That which I haue recited is enough for my purpose, namely to shew the manner of over-winging. Thus then apply it. The Mantineans had their right wing furre extended beyond the point of the left wing of the Scirites and brasideans, who by marching out to the left hand sought to equall the front of their aduersaries, but leit the ground voyd, wherein they were first placed. This ground by Agis his commandement should haue been filled by the Cohorts of Hipponoidas and Aristocles. It was not filled, so that in the charge the enemy had the aduantage to enter it, and to circument on that side the Scirites and Brasideans, and put them to flight: which danger will be common to all that shall be so overwinged by their enemy. The danger then of over-fronting and over-winging being so great, let vs see what remedies and preuentions against either of them haue beene deuised by antiquity.

Against over-fronting, they sought to secure the flanks of their battailes, sometimes by ordering their army in such a figure, as should be sufficient to sustaine the charge of the enemy, wherefoeuer he gaue on. Of which kinde is the *Plethum* or hollow square spoken of in the last Chapter. This was practised by the Grecians at their returne out of Persia; and oftentimes by other Grecians, as is euery where to be found in their histories. And Alex-

Remedies against over-fronting.

The Plethum.

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a Xenoph. Cyrop.
1.7.173.

b Arr. 1.23.5. E. &
1.3.60. f.
c Polyb. 1.11.
6. c. 8.
d Liv. 1. 4. 204. B.
e Horius de bell.
Afr. 3. 83.

See Tied. Sic of
Philip against
the Myrtians 1. 16
pag. 5. 2.

a Thucyd. 1. 5.
3. c. 10. D.
See the like ex-
ample in Xenoph.
bust. 4. 1. 4.
5. 1. 2. 1. 6. A. B.

Epicampos
opisthia.
biad. Sic. 1. 17. 52.
Ar. 1. 3. 60. C. 6.

^b Xenoph. Cyrop.
1. 76. A.
1. 10. 14. 5. 8.
* Poly. 1. 1. 64. 5.

Ar. 2. 35. 36.

^d Caesar de bello
Gall. 1. 2. 6. 1. 3.
323.
^e Plut. in Syl. 1. 2.
Appian in bell.
Mithridatico.

^f Turkish history
297. 5. 4.

Remedies against
overwinging.

^h Aelian 1. 9. 55.

ⁱ Poly. 1. 13. in
Cleandridas 5. 4.
200. 1. 5. 19.
1. 10. 1. 4. 5. 108.

^k Xenoph. de op. 1. 4.
341. F.
Luc. 1. 12. 5. 34.

under when he was to fight with *Darius* at Gaugamela (the country being Champaigne, and *Darius* abounding in multitudes) defended himself with an Epicampos opisthia, or a reare hollow battaile. I haue shewed the manner of it before in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. And sometimes againe by foreseeing the danger and placing reserves in the reare, or some other secret place to charge the enemy in their flanke, while they busie themselves against your flanks. This ^b was practised by *Cyrus* the elder against *Craesus*, as I haue shewed in my notes vpon the 46 Chapter. Of this kinde also it is, when you lay an ambush to charge their reare, while they charge your flanks. The place will likewise helpe much to auoid encompassing. For if the battaile be fought in a streight place by nature, where the enemy cannot draw out his Phalange in length, there is no danger of encompassing. So *Alexander* at Issos in Cilicia was freed from encompassing the place being too narrow for *Darius* to bring all his forces into an equall front. The place may also be helped by art in case it be otherwise to open, and fit for the enemy, that aboundeth in number to encompass vs on every side. So ^d *Caesar* being to fight against multitudes of Gauls, drew a deepe trench on both the flanks of his army to assure it from the charge of the enemy. The like did ^e *Sylla* against *Archelaus* the Cereall of Mithridats in the battaile Cheronea, and both of them securing their armies from circumuention, became by that means masters of the field and conquerours of their enemies. Of later time ^f *Io. Hunyadi* the Hungarian King, being to fight against a huge army of the Turkes, gained a nooie victory against them by placing his army on the one side against a fence, and enclosing it on the other side with his waggons. And these preuentions haue bene deuised against Hyperphalangelis, or over-fronting. Against overwinging, they thought it sufficient to strenthen and make safe the wing, that was like to be endangered by the enemy; so that all remedies against overwinging are good also against overwinging; but the remedies against overwinging are not sufficient to frustrate overwinging. Overwinging therefore hath bene auoided sometimes by drawing out the endangered wing in length to equall the enemies wing, that opposeth against it. This is done by doubling of ranks as ^h *Aelian* teacheth in the 29 Chapter, and as it was practised by ⁱ *Cleandridas* the Lacedemonian against the Thuriens. Wherein notwithstanding this caution is to be held, that you double not your ranks so, that you make the depth of your body to thin; for in so doing your body will be as subiect to breacking for want of depth as for want of length to overwing. Beside, it is done by facing to the hand, where the enemies battaile overwingeth, and marching out against it paralelly, till your wing equall the wing of the enemy; but so notwithstanding that the void space, from whence you drew your wing, be filled vp, for feare the enemy giue in to it, and distresse you there, as may be seene by the president which in this Chapter I gaue out of *Thucydides* of overwinging, and the example of the Co chians, who fearing to be overfronted by the Grecians vpon a hill, vpon which they stood embattailed, led their wings to the right and left hand to match the front of the Grecians, leauing the middest of their battaile empty, into which the Grecians conueying themselves easily put the Co chians to flight, as ^k *Xenophon* recordeth. Overwinging is also preuented, if you hold reserves secretly in the reare of your battaile to flye out vpon the sudden against those for-

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ces of the enemy, that seeke to ouerwing you. This remedy was used by ^a *Caesar* in the battaile of Pharsaly, when *Pompey* hauing abundance of horsemen, sought to circumuent that wing of *Caesars* battaile, which lay to the open field, and was not guarded with a fence, as the other wing was. For to prevent the charge of these horse, *Caesar* bestowed certain cohorts, who were to hold themselves close in the reare of his legions; not facing as his legions did against the legions of *Pompey*, but facing into the field, from whence he suspected the enemies horse would charge; so that when the horse charged, these cohorts suddenly falling out vpon them, and putting them to flight, were the beginning of *Caesars* victory. The place also often giueth assurance against overwinging, whether it be a riuer or the sea, or a mountaine, or such like, to which you may apply the flanke of your wing. For a riuer, you haue the example of *Clearchus* in the battaile betwixt *Artaxerxes* and *Cyrus* the younger, in which ^b *Clearchus* ordered his troups of Grecians on the right wing close to the riuer Euphrates. And when *Cyrus* would haue had him charge the middest of the Persian Phalange, because the King had placed himselfe there: (yet saith *Xenophon*) *Clearchus* seeing the King was farre without the left wing of the Grecians (for the King so much exceedd in multitude, that the middest of his battaile was a great way without the left wing of *Cyrus*) would not withdraw his right wing from the riuer, fearing to be encompassed on both sides.

The like was done by *Alexander* the Great in the Countrey of the Getes: this is the effect of the words of *Arrian*: ^c When they (the Getes) saw *Alexander* industriously aduance his Phalange by the riuers side, lest the foot might happily be circumuented and encompassed by some ambush of the Getes, and his horse in the front, the Getes forooke also their City, which was not very well walled, setting many of their children and wines vpon their horses backs, as the horses could carry, and retired into the wildernesse a great way from the riuer. By the Sea you may auoide likewise overwinging, if you order one of the flanks of your Army close to the Sea side. This was put in vre by *Alexander* when he fought the battaile against *Darius* at Issos in Cilicia. Thus haue *Arrian*: The foot of the left wing were commanded by *Craterus*, but the whole left wing by *Antisthenes*, who was enjoined not to forsake the Sea, for feare of encompassing by the Barbarians: for by reason of their number they might easily encircle the Macedonians on all parts. A Mountaine also that is steep, will giue good security to the flanke of a battaile, that may otherwise be encompassed. At the battaile of Platea which was fought betwixt the Grecians and *Mardonius*, *Xerxes* his Generall; the Grecian Army consisting of 100000. the Persian of 500 thousand, the Grecians at the first encamped at the foot of the Mountaine Cytheron; but finding the place fitter for the multitude of the Persians, then for themselves, they reuersed their Campe, and chose a more commodious piece of ground to pursue the total victory. For there was on the right hand a high hill, on the left, ran the riuer *Asopus*. The Campe was pitched in the middle place, which was fortified by the nature and asensse of the plot of ground. Therefore the straightnesse of the place much fauoured the wise counsell of the Grecians, toward the obtaining of victory. For there was no roome for the Persians to extend their Phalange in any great proportion of length; so that many Myriads of the Barbarians came to be of no use. The Grecians therefore in confidence of the place, aduanced their forces to fight, and ordering themselves according to the present occasion, led against the enemy. *Marodonius* being compelled so

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make a deepe Phalange, ordered his battaile in such sort, as he thought most convenient, and with cries set forward against the Grecians. This example albeit it be a remedy against Hyperphalangelis, or ouer-fronting, yet because it giueth a safeguard by a mountaine to one of the wings, I take it to be proper enough to Hyperkerasis or ouer-winging. Besides that, as I before noted, all means that are vsed to auoid ouer-fronting, are good likewise for the auoiding of ouer-winging.

3 *Attenuation is.*] This is nothing else but doubling of ranks: whereof see the 29 Chapter.

Of conueighing the carriage of the Army.

CHAP. XLV.

THE leading of the carriage, if any thing else, is of great (1) importance, and (2) requireth a speciall Commander.

It may be conueighed in 5 manners, (3) either before the army, or (4) behinde, or on the (5) one flanke, or the other, or in the (6) middlest.

Before, when you feare to be charged behinde: behinde, when you lead toward your enemy: when you feare to be charged in flanke, on the contrary side. In the middlest when a hollow battaile is needfull.

NOTES.

^a Leo. c. 10. § 2, 3, 4.

1 *Is of great importance.*] The importance of disposing the carriage in a march is well set downe by ^a Leo: *Ton* (saith hee to his Generall) ought to haue a speciall care of your baggage, and not to leave it at random, but to saue it in the place where it shall be; nor to lead it vnaduisedly into the battaile: For it oftentimes falleth out, that seruants fit for the Souldiers use, and the Souldiers children and kinsmen are amongst it: and if it remaine not in safety, the mindes of the Souldiers are distracted with doubtfullnesse and care and feare of the spoyle thereof: for every man of vnderstanding endeouureth to possesse that which is the enemies, without losse of his owne. This is the aduice of Leo. A pregnant example hereof may be read in *Diadorus Siculus* his description of the last battaile betwixt *Antigonus* and *Eumenes*; in which *Antigonus* hauing foyled *Eumenes* horse, sent his *Mædian* horse-men, and a sufficient number of *Tarentines* to invade the enemies baggage; For he hoped (which was true) not to be deseried by reason of the dust, and by possessing the baggage to become vanquisher of the enemy without traualle. They that were sent riding about the wing of their aduersaries vnperceiued, fell vpon the baggage, which was distant from the battaile about fiew furlongs. And finding by it a rabble of folke vsuit for fight, and but a few left for guard thereof, putting them to flight quickly (that withstood) they made themselves masters of all the rest. *Eumenes* hearing that his baggage was lost, endeououred notwithstanding to renew the fight, in hope by gaining the victory, not onely to preserue his owne baggage, but also to possesse that of the enemy. But the *Macedonians* refused to strike stroake, alluading that their carriage was lost, and their children and wiues, and many other bodies necessary were in the hands

hands of the enemy. And sending priuily Embassadors to *Antigonus* they seized vpon *Eumenes*, and deliuered him vp into *Antigonus* possession. Thus much for the importance of assuring the carriage.

2 *Requireth a speciall Commander.*] That the baggage ought to haue a speciall Commander ^b Leo also affirmeth: *Vegetius* addeth a guard to the baggage, and ^c Leo a proper Ensigne, saying; To every regiment there ought to be allotted a Waggon Master, and a proper Ensigne as well to the horse as oxen, that they may be discerned to their owners by the colours of the Ensigne.

3 *Either before the Army.*] The first of the fiew wayes, by which the baggage is conueighed in a march, is to lead it before the Army; which manner is to be put in practise, when the enemy pursueth in the reare: For if when the enemy followeth, the baggage should be behinde, he would soone haue means to seize vpon and rife it, then you could haue to wheele about your army to succour it. For these fiew manners of conueighing the carriage, *Leo* agreeeth with *Ælian* in these words: Your carriage, saith he, ought to haue a speciall Commander to order and gouerne it: and he is to lead it either before the Army, if you march out of the enemies Countrey; after the Army, if you invade the enemies territory; on the one side or other, when you feare to be charged on the one or either of your flanks; within the phalange, when you haue suspicion to be charged on all parts. So *Leo* agreeing with *Ælian*.

4 *Or behinde.*] The baggage is to be alwayes disposed of so, that the army may be betwixt it and the enemy. It ought to be before when the enemy is like to giue on behinde; behinde, when he seeketh to affront you from before. And yet it sometimes falleth out, that all the baggage is not to be led behinde the whole army, according to this precept of ^e *Leo*: Every regiment or company ought to haue their owne Ensignes, and not to mingle with other. For it is necessary, when the enemy is neither present nor expected in our owne Countrey, to march either by Regiments or else by Formes; and not to gather your whole Army into one place, lest he be easily starued with hunger, or the number be quickly consumed by the enemies specials, or be secured in forage. In another place speaking of marching thorow woody and rough wayes, he hath thus: In case you march horse or baggage, lead your baggage behind your Army, and after it the horse, and after them a few light armed targetiers, to be as it were bringers up of the march, for feare of unexpected incursions which oftentimes chauce to be made by the enemy. In another thus: When you enter our enemies Countrey, you shall cause your carriage to march in the reare; but when the enemy draweth nere, you shall bestow it in the middlest of the Army. And in any case you must haue your carriage, and the Caprines (if you haue any) separated from the Souldiers that are to fight, lest if the enemy fall on roundly, they be hindered that are to fight. For the distance that the carriage ought to hold behinde the Army, the same *Leo* hath thus; If you thinke it convenient for the carriage to follow the Army, you are to order it a full bowe shot from the Army, and let every part follow their owne bodies in good array: giuing it such breadth in the march, as the Army possesseth; lest that lying out beyond the breadth of the Army, they become vnsecurable. These are the precepts of *Leo* concerning the conueighance of the carriage in the reare. For the practise of it you haue a precedent of *Cyrus* the elder, which is at large rehearsed by me in my notes vpon the 7 Chapter of this Booke: and another of *Alexander* the Great, when hee led against the Persians at

the river Granicus, and an infinite number of other examples are to be found in History every where.

5 *Or on the one flanke, or the other.* Ælians precept for disposing of the baggage on the flanks, is very good: For it ought as much as is possible, to be preferred from the touch of the enemy; neither can there be any better way to secure it, then your opposition, the Army betwixt it and the enemy; but so, notwithstanding that it have a guard about it at all times, to save it from the sudden inuasion of your enemies horse. If therefore the enemy appeare on your left flank, your baggage is to be conveyed on the right flank; If contrariwise the enemy come on to charge your right flanke, the baggage is to be removed to the left. And this holdeth, onely when the enemy appeareth vpon one flanke, and not on both. But in case the enemy appeare on both flanks at once, then is the safest place for it,

(6) *In the middlest.* There are two manners of leading of the baggage in the middlest, and that according to the nature and condition of the ground, where our army marcheth. If therefore the way be straight, Leo giueth this precept; *Those that leads their army through straights, hauing with it either baggage or prey, ought to diuide it into a diphallange, and to march wing-wise in a right induction. A right induction, that is, which is narrow in front, and hath the depth stretched out in length: And this is to be done especially when there is a prey in the hands of the army. And if they consist of foot, the passage will be the easier through rough and cumbersome places. If horse, they are to alight and take the baggage and carriage into the middlest. But in such times and places, you are to appoint some chosen men onely for the defence of the prey, and to order them upon the four sides of the Diphallange, as the place will giue cause, to the end to follow it, and repulse those of the enemy that offer to charge or distract it. And the battails (or diphallanges) so ordered for the preservation of the carriage or prey, be maintained whole and entire. For it is not possible for those of the Diphallange both to defend the prey, and to order and to ioyne with the enemy that chargeth, which is the cause that they ought to be extraordinary men to march without the four sides of the army; but especially you are to appoint the best of them to wait upon the reare. For so many at all times, rough and trouble some places be passed through with safety. This is Leo's precept for straight & narrow passages: because in such you cannot forme your army into a hollow square, wherein the baggage is to be couched, and to be defended on all sides. For if the ground be open enough to cast your selfe into a square, hee holdeth the forme the safest to giue security to your baggage. These be his words: Place all four carriage, servants, and baggage, and provision, in the middlest of your army. And in another place, speaking of a retreat to be made after an ouerthrow received, he writeth thus: You shall order your whole power into two Phallanges or battails, or into one square Plinthum, in the middlest where of you shall put the carriage, beasts, and baggage, and without them the souldiers in order, and without them the archers, and so retire and depart in safety. Again he saith, In marches, the enemy approaching, it is necessary to haue your carriage in the middlest, left being vnguarded, it be spoiled and rifled. With Leo doth Xenophon agree. His words haue this sense: I will not wonder if as fearful dogges we went to follow and be such as passe by, if they can, and to flye from such as follow them, so the enemy hang upon our reare. Therefore we shall perhaps march the safer, if making a Pleſium of the armed, the carriage and vnguardable multitude be throwne into the middlest for more security. And if it be now determined who shall command the front of*

Leo c. 9. §. 147.

Leo c. 7. §. 36.

Leo c. 14. §. 14.

Xenophon c. 1. §. 1.

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

the Pleſium, and who the two wings, and who the reare, wee shall not need to consult: when the enemy approacheth, but execute that which is resolved upon. This is Xenophon's counsell for the march in open ground, when the enemy aboundeth in number of souldiers: which counsell was often put in practice, and the Grecians being but 10000 secured themselves against infinite multitudes of Persian horse that charged them on all sides, and also preferred, and led their carriage safe in despite of the enemy. The like was practised by Xenophon afterward in the last warlike action of the Grecians in their returne out of Persia. He setteth downe the history after this manner; Now was it time, Xenophon c. 13. viz. as if they had assaulted a fort in vaine, the enemy of the country gathering head, to thinke upon a safe retreat, and conueying the oxen and sheep they had taken, and likewise the slaves into a Pleſium, they quickly desmarched, not so much esteeming their prey, as fearing in case they left it behind, their departure might seeme a plaiee running away, and the enemy gather heart, the Grecian souldiers be discouraged. So now they departed fighting as it were about the prey. The souldiers with Xenophon being shrewdly armed with bowes & slings, cast themselves into a ring to the end to oppose their targets against the shot of the enemy, and with much adoe passed the river Caicus, the one halfe of them being wounded. Agathias during the whole retreat. Yes they all returned safe to the Camps bringing with them about 200 slaves, and sheepe enough for sacrifice. Here Xenophon's souldiers figured themselves first into a Pleſium couching their prey in the middlest; afterward being overlaid with the enemies shot, they conuered their Pleſium into a Ring, in which forme they recovered their Came, notwithstanding the molestation and often charging of a great multitude of horse and foot, that were enemy and followed them. Of the forme of Rings I finde not many examples amongst the Grecians; the Romans vsed them often, when they found themselves encompassed by the enemy, as Vegetius hath; and may bee seene in Cæsar's Commentaries. And let thus be said of the four manners of placing the carriage in a march.

Agathias l. 2. c. 6. §. 7. Lin. Cæsar l. 4. c. 4. de bell. gall. Hist. de bell. c. 3. c. 2. c. 3. §. 8.

Of the words of Command, and certaine obseruations about them.

CHAP. LII.



Altho' all, we will briefly repeate the words of direction; if we admonish first that they ought to be short, then that they ought to be without double signification. For the Souldiers, that in haste receiue direction, had neede to take heede of doubtful words, lest one doe one thing, and another the contrary. As for the purpose; If I say *turne your face*, some, it may be, that heare me, will turne to the right, some to the left hand, and so no small confusion follow. Seeing therefore these words *Turne your face* import a generall signification, and comprehend turning to the right or left hand; we ought in stead of saying, *turne your face to the pike*, to pronounce it thus, *to your pike turne your face*; that is, we ought to set the particular before, and then inferre the generall; for so will all doe alike together.

Like

The Tactics of Ælian, or

Like reason is, if you say *Turne about your face, or countermarch*: for these are also generall words, and therefore wee should doe well to set the particular before. As to the pike, *turne your face about, or to the target, turne your face about*. Likewise the *Lacedemonian Countermarch*, not the *countermarch Lacedemonian*: For if you place the word *countermarch* first, some of the Souldiers will happily fall to one kinde, other to another kinde of countermarch. For which cause words of double sense are to be avoided, and the *speciall* to be set before the generall.

NOTES.

[If we admonish first that they ought to be short.] The ordering and motions of an army ought to be quickly performed, the rather because the transmutations of the body and the occasions of them are sudden for the most part. And therefore the meanes to worke the transmutations commanded (these meanes are the words of direction) ought to suite to the nature of the motions themselves, and to be applied to celerity by shortnesse of speech. Short speech is better carried away, and sooner put in execution, then speech that is longer. Yet is not such a shortnesse to bee affected, as will bring with it obscurity, according to the saying of the Poet; *Brevitas est laboriosa*—*Obscurus fit. I labour to be short, and so become obscure*. And therefore I take the practice of French Commanders, when they command Facing in these words; *A droite, a gauche*, to the right, to the left, without adding *face*, and likewise of the Netherlanders in imitation of the French *Rechts om, links om*, and of some English in these words; *To the right, to the left*, not pronouncing the motion which is to be made to the hand appointed. These I say, I take to be without the warrant of reason, and of all antiquity, from which Ælian draweth this rule. For the command of *right* and *left* alone sheweth that the Commander would have a motion performed to the named hand, but leaveth uncertaine what the motion should be, so that albeit some souldiers fall to a *countermarch*, some other to *wheeling*, or to *doubling*, or to *facing*, they are to be reputed blamelesse, and to have performed that which their direction willed them to doe, because the command was of moving to the *right* or *left* hand onely, not shewing what motion should be made to either hand. Shortnesse therefore is required by Ælian, but such a Shortnesse as is not wrapped vp in obscurity, and which may fully deliver the minde of the Commander to the souldiers, which hee hath in exercise. And as the words ought to bee short, so ought they to be,

[Without double signification.] Where they have a double signification, that is, may be diversly understood by them, who are vnder direction; some of the souldiers (as Ælian saith) will doe one thing, some another, which must needs breed a confusion in the body exercised. For as vniformity of motion in euery particular souldier preferueth the whole body, and euery ioynt, or part, thereof entire, so the dissimilitude of motion in the particulars induceth a disioyning, as it were, & a disorder of the multitude of the whole battaille in generall. To auoid then the inconuenience of double vnderstanding in words: Ælian thinketh fit, that the *speciall* word should be placed before the generall, and in stead of *Face to the pike*, he would haue the Com-

mande:

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mander to pronounce thus: *To the pike face* (that is to the *right hand*:) holding the word *right hand* to be more speciall or streighter in signification, then the word *Face*. Let me haue pardon if I differ from Ælian herein. For Logicians hold those words more generall, that stretch vnto, and comprehend vnder them most particulars. Now considering there are foure motions of the battaille, which cannot be put in vfe but by words of direction, and in the direction the word *right* or *left hand* is of necessity to be applied to euery of them (as for example *Countermarch* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Face* to the *right* or *left hand*, and so of the rest:) it is euident, that the word *right hand*, or *left hand* is more generall then any one of the motions, because it stretcheth to them all. So that albeit we retain the rule of Ælian, namely, to set the speciall before the generall, yet may we vfe safely from his example, and not onely in *facing*, but also in the three other motions pronounce the direction thus: *Face* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Double* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Countermarch* to the *right* or *left hand*, *Wheele* to the *right* or *left hand*: because the word *right* or *left hand* is more generall, then any one of the motions. But admit it were more particular, yet the necessity of our language would force vs to forsake this rule of Ælian. For in euery language there is an idome or propriety of speech, and that not onely in the phrase it self, but also in the very ioyning & tying together of the words of the sentence. So that that which sorteth well with one language, will not be receiued in another. In Greeke, in which tongue Ælian wrote, it foundeth well to place the enowne gouerned by a verbe, before the verbe it self. So in Latine, Dutch, French, and other tongues. In English if a man should doe the like (vnlesse it were in verse, wherein the number of the feet is more respected then the ordering of the words) he should be accounted ridiculous or vaine. For take the example here set downe, to the *right hand face*, to the *right hand double*, or *countermarch*, or *wheele*, and let vs vfe the same order of words in common speech, and a man say to his seruant: *To the Church goe, to the mill come carry, bootes cleane make*. To the cutler my rapier carry: who would not laugh at his speech, or thinke him idle in so pronouncing. Wherefore albeit Ælian hold that forme agreeable to the Greeke tongue, yet I cannot see how it will be fit that our English, according to which I hold it better to pronounce after this manner: *Face to right hand*, *Countermarch* to the *right hand*, and so in the rest, then after this, *To the right hand face*, to the *right hand countermarch*; the rather because the property of speech auaieth much to the capacity of souldiers, who for the most part are vnlearned, and I will hardly vnderstand, in case the wonted custome, and ordinary vfe of ioyning words be inuerted.

CHAP. LIII.

But aboue all things silence is to be commanded, and heed giuen to directions, as Homer especially signifieth in his description of the Grecian and Troian fights, saying:

The

The Tactics of Ælian, or

The skilfull Captaines pressed on, guiding with carefull eye
 Their armed troopes, who followed their leaders silently;
 You surely would haue deem'd each one of all that mighty throng
 Had bene bereft of speech, so braid'd he his heedfull tongue,
 Fearing the dread Commanders checke and dreadfull beate, among:
 Thus march'd the Greeks in silence, breathing flames of high desire
 And feruent zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

As for the disorder of the Barbarians he resemblance it to Birds, saying:

As fholes of fowle, Geese, Cranes, and Swans with necks far stretch'd out,
 Which in the stormy iens Castors winding streames about.
 Shere here and there the liquid skie, sporting on wanton wing,
 Then full to groun't with clanging noys, the jens all ouer ring.
 None otherwise the Troians fill the field with heaped founds
 Of broken and confused cries, each where tumult abounds.

And againe:

The Captaines marshall out their troopes ranged in goodly guise,
 And forth the Troians pace like birds, that laide the ayre with cries.
 Not so the Greeks, whose silence breath'd flames of high desire,
 Feruent in zeale to backe their friends, on foes to wreake their ire.

NOTES.

Silence when a battaile is put in order either for fight, or exercise, is one of the principall points of obedience, which belongeth to a souldier; the breach whereof more endangereth the proceeding of warre, then a rawe souldier would thinke, who onely is wont to offend in that kind. I haue before entreated of signes, and shewed, that in the obseruing of directions consisteth the greatest helpe of victory; in neglecting them, the chiefeft meares to take an ouerthrow, and be defeated. For as directions being executed giue life vnto warlike actions to effect that which the Commander desireth, so whatsoever hindereth the receiuing of directions, must needs crosse the designs of the Commander, and by consequence frustrate and disannull that which was thought by him most fit to be put in practice either for the good order, or for the preservation of the Army, or else for the gaying of victory: A man that is not attentiu cannot marke the command deliuered: Nor can he be attentiu, that whilst it is deliuered busieth his head with other thoughts, or else entertaineth his next standers by with talke, a meanes to diuert as well the speaker as the hearer from that heed which ought to be giuen to direction; in as much as no man hath the ability to heare another mans speech, and himselfe take at the same instant, or at the same time to discern two mens severall speeches, which are deliuered together. All generals haue held Silence a principall point of warlike discipline. And therefore in Commands they make it the first. *Leos* precept is this: *When the troopes are drawne together, and ordered for exercise, let the cryer (for euery company had then a cryer) giue these directions: Doe what you are commanded with silence; keepe your places euery man, follow your colours. And in another*

1000 p. 7. 6.

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ther place he writeth thus: *When your Army goeth out to ioyne with the enemy, there ought to be a deepe silence; For that both preferueth the Army from disorder, and also maketh the directions of the Commanders to be heard with more attention. And againe thus: There ought to be as much silence as may be in the Army, and if the bringers vp of any file, heare but a whispering of their fellowes in the file, they are to prick the parties with the points of their pikes, and so to redresse the fault.* Alexander when he was returning from the Countrey of the Taulantians, into which he had made an inrode, found his way beset with enemies, and being to cast his Army into a forme of battaile to fight, he first commanded an absolute silence, and then proceeded to other directions. And for the effect of silence, our owne story hath a memorable example of the Army of Edward the fourth in Barnet field.

As for the silence here prescribed by *Ælian*, it extendeth not onely to exercise and fight, but oftentimes to the marching of an Army, and to the Campe, as appeareth by the last example, and by *Leos* precept in his eleventh Chapter. And yet this precept of silence is not inuolably to be kept in an Army at all times: for there is a time, when the Souldiers ought to giue a generall shout, and cry thorow the whole Army, to the end to terrifie the averse battaile of the enemy; and that time hath alwayes bene chosen, and by all Nations obserued, when the fight is presently to be vndergone. I neede not bring instances thereof, euery man knoweth it, that is although but meanely acquainted with History. It is termed in Greeke *clamor*, in Latine *clamor*, in English a shout of the whole Army; the which being performed, silence is to be restored in as strict manner as before. And thus much of silence. Now followeth the words of direction in *Ælians* last Chapter.

of the words of direction.

CHAP. LIIII.

THUS then are we to command.

- 1 To your armes.
- 2 Carriage away from the battaile.
- 3 Be silent and marke your directions.
- 4 Take vp your armes.
- 5 Separate your selues.
- 6 Aduance your Pikes.
- 7 File your selues.
- 8 Ranke your selues.
- 9 Looke to your leaders.
- 10 Reare-Commander strengthen your file.
- 11 Keepe your first distances.
- 12 Face to the pike.

Moue a little further.
 Stand so.

- 13 As you were.
- 14 Face to the Target.

Moue

The Taſticks of *Aelian*, of

Moue a little further.
Stand ſo.

- 25 As you were.
- 26 Face about to the pike.
- 27 As you were.
- 18 Double your depth.
- 19 To your firſt poſture.
- 20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.
- 21 To your firſt poſture.
- 22 The Macedonian Countermarch.
- 23 To your firſt poſture.
- 24 The Choraean Countermarch.
- 25 To your firſt poſture.

The precepts of the art Taſticks haue I deliuered vnto you (moſt inuincible *Cæſar*) which I make no doubt, will bring to the practice ſafety, and victory ouer his enemies.

NOTES.

Leo 10 p 75-86.

Theſe words of direction here ſet downe, are rather to ſhew the manner of Command, then to expreſſe the iuit number of directions vſed in exerciſe: yet doth *Leo* the Emperour tranſcribe ſome of them, albeit not all, out of *Aelian*; and the laſt in *Leo* hath a mixture of two motions in one direction, being deliuered in theſe words, *τὸν λαχόντα ἐν τῷ διπλοῦς πολεμῶν*; which is in Latine tranſlated by Sir Iohn Ch. k. *Laceticum ad habitum trivolum*; and may be thus engliſhed, wheele thrice the Lacedemonian Countermarch to the right hand; wherein there is both *wheeling* and the *Lacedemonian Countermarch* commanded at once, a thing impoſſible to be performed. For as in *wheeling*, the whole battaile remaineth entire, and moueth circlewiſe about the right or left corner fileleader, as about a Center; So in a Countermarch Lacedemonian it is broken, and beginneth to moue by ſeueral ranks, and continueth the motion in a direct line from the front to the reare, and not in a circle. But for the precepts of *Aelian* I purpoſe to expaine onely ſuch as are vſed by the Souldiers and Commanders of our time: And after taking of armes I hold this to be the firſt, at left when we begin to moue.

6 Advance your Pikes.

Pikes in ordering of a battaile muſt be firſt *advanced* before any motion can be performed, in as much as all other poſtures of the Pike doe hinder, or elſe are vnfit for tranſmutations and variety of changes, and from *advancing* the reſt of pike-poſtures doe ſpring. Ordering of the Pike was deuſed to eaſe the Souldier ſtanding ſtill; *ſhouldering*, to eaſe him in marching; *advancing*, to giue facility to the other poſtures, and to finiſh them, becauſe they both begin and end in it.

7 & 8. File and ranke your ſelues.

It is needleſſe to note, that no battaile can be without filing and ranking. This

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This we muſt vnderſtand, that the Captaine is to ſee whether the Souldiers be filed and ranked; but the action it ſelfe pertaineth to the Souldiers, who knowing their files and rankes, are euery man to take their place accordingly: for ſo ought it to be in true diſcipline of Warre.

9 Looke to your Leader.

The file-leader is the life, and giuer of forme vnto the file. He is the life in that he moueth firſt, and draweth the reſt vnto the ſame motion; he giueth the forme vnto it, becauſe it being nothing elſe but a right line, his ſtanding, being the firſt point, directeth the reſt to follow lineally one after another. In this precept therefore *Looke to your Leader* two things are commanded, one that the reſt of the file ſhould obſerue to moue and ſtand ſtill, as he doth; the other, that they ſhould maintaine a ſtraightneſſe and rightneſſe in length, which is the forme of the file.

10 Reare-commander order your file.

See *Aelian* (237)

In the Greeke Edition of *Aelian* is read *ἀρχηγός*, that is, file-leader. But in a Manuſcript, which I haue ſcene, is *ἐκπύτης*, the bringer vp or reare-commander, and ſo is it read in *Leo*s Taſticks; and I take it to be the true reare-
Luce 7. 5 88.
 ding, this command rather appertaining to the reare-Commander, then to the file-leader: for the file-leader being the foremoſt of the file, and bearing his face out of the front, how can he ſee whether the file that is behinde him, be in right order or not. The bringer-vp hath his face toward the whole file, as it ſtandeth out before him: and therefore may eaſily diſcerne if any man be in diſorder, and reforme them that are the cauſe of the diſorder. In which reſpect it is euident, that he is fitter for the command, then the file-leader; which is the cauſe, that I haue tranſlated the word of direction, as before, *Reare-commander order your file*.

11 Keepe your firſt diſtances. That is, ſtand in your open order. For in that diſtance is the exerciſe firſt Legunne.

It is a ſeemely thing to ſee an euen proportion obſerued in the motion of
See *Aelian* (237).
 a battaile, and to behold a direct ſpace betwixt files and rankes. For that is the grace and beauty (as I may terme it) of a Phalange ordered for fight. This proportion cannot be maintayned without obſeruing diſtance curiouſly. Open order is fixe foot both in ranke and file betwixt man and man euery way. If then any ſouldier in file gather vp to his leader, and ſtand at diſtance of three foot, it is maniſeſt, that his ranke is thereby diſturbed and made vneuen, although the file continue ſtreight. Contrariwiſe, if he beare himſelfe out of his place, three foot toward either of his ſide-men, by this meanes he diſordereth his file and maketh it crooked. This fault if it were committed by many, a generall diſorder would follow in the body; and therefore *Aelian* well aduiſeth to keepe the firſt diſtances eſpecially till you be commanded to the ſecond or third diſtance, which will often fall out in the foure motions. Of which Facing is the firſt; and the words of Facing
1 Motion.
 direction in it are theſe as before in *Aelian*.

1 2

1 2 Page

12 Face to the Pike.

See Ælian before
cap. 15.

That is, Face to the tight hand; For the pike was alwayes borne in the right hand.

14 Face to the Target.

The Pike-men in the Macedonian army bore targets on their left armes, or on the left side, so that facing to the target is all one with the word of command; Face to the left hand.

16 Face about to the pike or target.

That is, face about to the right or left hand. But where hee addeth [*move a little further,*] he signifieth that the direction is not fully accomplished, and he would haue the souldiers continue their motion till their faces were fully come about to the reare; and then hee willett them to *stand so*, because they haue gayned their place. These facings here expressed by Ælian, are of the whole body. Other facings of the parts he hath not set downe, which notwithstanding are oftentimes of great vse. For say the enemy charge in front and reare; your front must continue as it did, but the word for the reare is:

* The Antiphonous Phalange.

* *Halfe files face about to the right or left hand.*

If the enemy charge you on both flanks, then is the word of command.

b The Antiphonous Phalange.

b *Halfe ranks face to the right, halft to the left hand.*

If in front and one flanke, the front standeth firme, and the word for the flanke that is charged, is:

The Pleiura.

Halfe ranks o' the right (or left) flanke, Face to the hand named.

If in front and both flanks, the front is to stand firme, and both the flanks to face to the enemy. And this is done in a hollow square or Pleiura, and the word is:

Flanks face one to the right the other to the left hand.

If on all sides or round about, it is as before for the flanks: but for the reare,

The reare face about to the right or left hand.

Now in Countermarch of the reare, the ranke of file leaders is oftentimes commanded to face about to the right or left hand; In countermarch of the front, the ranke of bringers vp must doe the like, as wee shall see in Countermarch. Doubling is the second motion used in battaile, the precept of it in this in Ælian.

Doubling
Motion.

18 Double

18 Double your depth.

The word in our exercise for this motion is, Double your files; because files measure the depth of the battaile, or ranks measure the length. This doubling is made many wayes. The first is, when the euen files (that is, the 2. 4. 6. 8. 10. file) fall into the odde; As if the doubling be to the right hand, the right hand corner file standeth firme, and is the first after doubling; the third is the second file, the fifth the third, and so the rest of the odde files in order. But the manner is, that the leaders of the second file fall directly behind the leader of the first file, and the second man of the second file behind the second man of the first, and so the rest of those two files. The same order is for the rest of the euen files, when they double the odde files. And the word is:

See Ælian cap.

Double your files to the right or left hand.

Another manner is, when halfe the body of files conueyes it selfe into the spaces or the other halfe of the body; be it to the right or left hand according to direction giuen; so that the first ranke of the halfe body, which is to move, falls in to the space next after the first ranke of the halfe body that standeth, and so the rest of the ranks of the halfe body that moueth, and the word is:

Halfe the body double your files to the right or left hand.

Another is, when files are doubled by a countermarch: As if the second file of the right or left hand (as it is appointed) countermarch, and the leader of that file place himselfe behind the bringer vp of the corner file to that hand, to which the doubling is to be made; and so the rest of the files of each number, behind those of odde number; as the second behind the first, the fourth behind the third, the sixth behind the fifth, and so the rest. The word is:

Double your files by countermarch to the right or left hand.

The next word in Ælian is

Double your length.

That is, double your ranks, or front: (For as I before noted, the ranks make the length of the battaile) which likewise is many wayes done. The first is, when the ranks of euen appellation, as the 2. 4. 6. 8. &c. fall out into the spaces of the odde, namely, into the spaces of the 1. 3. 5. 7. &c. which stand before them and place themselves euen with them in ranke. The word is:

Double your ranks to the right or left hand.

Another way is, when the bringers vp (their halfe files following them

13

by

by countermarch) aduance vp to the front, and place themselves in the spaces betwixt the file-leaders to the hand appointed, and the rest of the ranks accordingly, namely, the ninth ranke in the spaces of the second, the eight in the spaces of the third, the seuenth in the fourth, the sixth in the spaces of the fifth. And the word is :

Bringers vp, double your front by countermarch to the right or left hand.

Another is, when the reare-halfe-files, one halfe face to the right, the other to the left hand, and diuiding themselves, march out till they bee past the flankes of the standing halfe-files : Then facing to the front, fleue vp and front with the standing halfe-files. Then the word is :

Reare halfe-files, double your front by diuision to the right and left hand.

Another way is, when the reare-halfe-files vndiuided, face to the hand appointed, and being beyond the flanke of the rest of the body, face to the front and fleue vp, and ioine in front with the standing halfe-files. The word is :

Reare halfe-files, enter double your front to the right or left hand.

It is to be obserued, that in all these motions of doubling ranks or front, the souldiers are to returne after their motion to their first posture, which is done by facing about to the right or left hand, and then by mouing, and by recouering their first place. The word is :

As you were.

3 Motion.

Countermarch is the third motion vsed in the change of a battaile. The vs and necessity thereof appeareth in *Ælian* before, and that there are two kinds, one by file, the other by ranke. The words of command that hee here setteth downe, are onely of countermarch by file, which may be reduced to two kinds, viz. the Countermarch of the front and the Countermarch of the reare. That of the front hath likewise two kinds, the Lacedemonian and the Chorean : That of the reare onely one, and it is called the Macedonian Countermarch. Now *Ælian* direction followeth.

20 The Lacedemonian Countermarch.

This is one of the Countermarches by file, and of the front. The manner is, that the file-leaders beginne the Countermarch and passe beyond the reare, their files following them. In our exercise the word is :

Countermarch the front to the right, or to the left hand.

It is done after another sort also, as when the bringers vp face about to the right or left hand, and then the whole body facing about to the same hand, passe thorow the spaces of the bringers vp to the same hand and the ninth ranke, beginning the rest of the ranks after one another, place themselves euery particular man before his follower in the same file, till the file-leaders are first. The word is :

Bringers

Bringers vp face to the right, or to the left hand. The rest beginning at the ninth ranke, passe thorow to the same hand, and place euery man himselfe before his follower.

As you were.

In *Ælian* followeth :

22 The Macedonian Countermarch.

We in our exercise tearme this Countermarch of the reare, and it is done in two manners : First, when the bringers vp begin the Countermarch, and their files following, passe thorow the spaces of the file-leaders, till the file-leaders become the last of the file, and then the whole body face about, and stand. The word is :

Countermarch the reare to the right or left hand. Face about to the contrary hand, and stand.

The other when the file-leaders face about to either hand, and the rest of the ranks beginning at the second ranke, successuely passe thorow the spaces of the file-leaders to the hand appointed, placing themselves euery man behind his next leader, and facing about as they did. The word is :

File-leaders face about, the rest of the ranks passe thorow, and place yourselves behinde your next leaders.

The next in *Ælian* is :

24 The Chorean Countermarch.

This Countermarch is of the front, as I said, but it keepeth the ground, that the body had before the file-leaders (their files following them) removed to the places of the bringers vp, and the bringers vp to the places that the file-leaders had. The word is :

File-leaders, countermarch to the right or left hand, and stand, viz. when they come to the bringers vp.

Other Countermarches there are, which are not here set downe by *Ælian*, but are remembered in his Chapter of Countermarches, of which the countermarch by ranks of the whole battaile is one, the other is the countermarch by ranks in the parts. And as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the ranks first began to moue, so in Countermarch of the flanke, the files entire beginne to moue, and as in the Countermarch of the front or reare, the ranks followed one another by file, so in Countermarch of the flanke, the files follow one another by ranke : that is, the souldiers of euery ranke follow one another. If you would countermarch the right flanke, so to change one side of the battaile for the other, the word is :

Countermarch the right flanke to the left hand.

Ælian cap. 28.

The Taskicks of *Ælian*, or

In countermarching the left flanke, the word is;

Countermarch the left flanke to the right hand.

To countermarch the wings into the midst, both the vttermost corner-files are to moue toward the midst, their halfe ranks following them, and meeting in the midst to stand there, and face to the front; and the word is;

Countermarch your wings into the midst of the battaile.

Obserue, that in Countermarch by ranke, the three Countermarches *Macedonian*, *Lacedæmonian*, and *Choræan* may be practised, as well as in Countermarch by file. If the flanke neereit to the enemy begin the Countermarch, this the *Macedonian* countermarch, because it maketh a shew of shifting away. If the flanke furthest from the enemy begin, it is the *Lacedæmonian*, in that it carrieth a semblance of falling on. But when one flanke countermarcheth, till it come iust vp to the other, and no further; it is the *Choræan*, because it keepeth the same ground.

The fourth Motion,

Wheeling is the fourth and last motion; and it is vsed in the whole entire battaile, or in the parts thereof. *Ælian* giueth words of direction for the whole battaile onely, and they are these;

Wheele the body to the Pike, or to the Target.

When the battaile is to wheele to the pike or right hand, the right hand corner file-leader is onely to turne his body by little and little to the right hand, facing euen with the ranke of file-leaders, till such time as hee haue gained the right hand aspect; and the rest are to moue about him, making him the center, as it were of their circled motion. If to the left hand, the left hand corner file leader is to doe the like. The same order is of wheeling the battaile about to the right or left hand. *Ælian* (as *Lilius*) giueth here no other words of command, then for the wheeling of the whole body, yet are the wheelings of the parts of great vie; for either the flanks are wheeled into the front, or the front into the flanks. The front is wheeled into the flanks, when we desire to forme the *Antitonus* halange; to resist the enemy, giuing on both flanks. And then the two middlemost bringers vp are to stand, and the middle file-leaders to diuide themselves, and to moue halfe the battaile to the right, halfe to the left hand, making these two bringers vp the center of the motion. In this the word is;

Wheele the front into flanks by diuision.

If the flanks be to be wheeled into the front, the two middle file-leaders are to stand still, and the two halfe bodies to moue about them, one to the right hand, the other to the left, till the two flanks be in the front, and the front in the midst. This kind is practised when we would frame the *Diphallange Antitonus*. The word is;

Wheele

the Art of Embattailing Armies.

Wheele the flanks into the front.

It is to be remembered, that after euery motion a restitution to the first posture is to be commanded in theic words; *As you were.*

In facing you are to returne to the contrary hand; as if the command were to face to the right, in returning you come to the left.

In doubling you must doe the like.

In countermarch likewise, whether you countermarch the whole body, or the parcels thereof, you are to returne by the contrary hand.

After wheeling, there ought to be a facing to the same hand first before you returne, and then a returning the contrary way about the same corner file-leader, about whom the motion was first made. This is to be vnderstood of wheeling the whole body.

In wheeling the front into the flanks, after wheeling performed, the body before returning is to face to the Commander, then to returne about the same bringers vp, till all come to be as they were.

In wheeling the flanks into the front, after the wheeling is made, the body is to face likewise to the Commander, then facing about to the right or left hand to return to the first posture about the two middle file-leaders, as about their center.

Hic castus artemque repono.

F F N F S.



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